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National Reconstruction.

A Study in Practical Politics and Statesmanship.

By J. J. Robinson.

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PREFACE.

Many months ago, in response to a direct invitation from a source it would have been unpatriotic to disregard, I set up the framework of this book. It was accepted by those for whom it was prepared. In July of 1917, it became necessary to write the book. My membership of the Education Committee of the British Science Guild, and a life-long apprenticeship to organisation and administration of various types, may have been provoking causes; but to whatever accident the first contact was due, I could not turn from a suggestion which led me to a task so continuative of the activities and aims of a busy life, at a crisis in the history of a country to which I owe both my activities and my aims.

I am painfully aware of many shortcomings in a performance which had to find fulfilment in months heavily taxed by routine duties and public work. But I do not wish my offering, such as it is, to lack one recommendation to which it certainly is entitled. Whatever is written is the fruit of forty years' studentship, in three widely differing provincial areas, of the practical politics here advocated, and of effective experience with many classes of men and most types of service in the United Kingdom, and, to a less extent of course, but still to a real extent, in more than one European country.

Most of the methods here suggested have been personally tested and applied. There must exist many who, having witnessed the successive applications of these methods, will now be able to follow the thread of

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purpose and the fabric of development of enterprises which, at the time they knew me, must occasionally have seemed to be borne of passing whims. To those with whom I thus worked I am glad to surrender this harvest of the toils we shared. These began forty years ago in the memorable and beautiful town of Bury St. Edmunds; they were continued more than two decades back in the North of England. The willing workers who gathered so happily around me in the mining, manufacturing, and shipping centres of Northumberland and Durham, whose aid carried my north-country health campaign to a successful climax, may here share the chief dividend our heavy work brought me. Many friends in Durham City, as in its University and the capitular body of its inspiring Cathedral, which must ever be first with me, may now follow the growth they aided. The last quarter of a century in the South of England, given to more than one type of re-organisation, has permitted such practice in practical politics as could concern itself with the initiation and aid of lecture societies, the organisation of a successful institute for all classes, participation in the administrative side of technical and secondary education for a county, and the genesis and assistance of nursing and hospital enterprises. In feudal England intrusive folk have very often to serve the public against its will, and usually without its full apprehension, a form of service at the time most exhilarating, and in retrospect certainly delightful. I can never be sufficiently grateful for what Saxon England has permitted: perhaps some of its residents will take this humble effort in acknowledgment.

This book is intended to be preparatory, not adequate; it designedly offers outlines, rather than details; it presupposes willing co-operators and a further and a fuller statement; it does not wish to restrict possibilities to present customs and aptitudes. There are two parts to it. Each part can stand alone; though one working hypothesis informs both, and both are practicable. On an early page I print the Whewell quotation (which I found after I had written all the chapters), because it seems very aptly to describe the objective, and in part the method, of National Reconstruction as set forth here.

Some personal debts have to be paid. I wish first to thank a few writers, quite unknown to me, whose recent work in the Literary Supplements of the "Times" I have watched with deep interest and benefit. When so much of the best of one's thought has been expressed anonymously, a special sense of companionship matures with writers who also are giving of their best anonymously; on this subject of mine, since 1914 much that is most statesmanlike has appeared week by week in that paper, which has been followed here with abiding content. Then I wish to express my grateful thanks to my friends—I name them in alphabetical order, though they know who has helped most — Professors R. A. Gregory, F. J. C. Hearnshaw, L. W. Lyde, F. Soddy, and J. Arthur Thomson, who have most kindly looked over proofs, and to whom I am indebted for many most useful criticisms and suggestions.

My personal studies in military history and science, and the metaphysical tendencies I owe to my forefathers, are sufficiently obvious.

If others are here aided in the Great Enterprise of Life, and my country can find a use for this book in these her greatest days, ought not a student to be sufficiently rewarded who is still at school, and sees many reasons why he should remain there.

There is so much to do that can be done and should be done, and so many methods open to so many minds. Ought we not to try any path that may lead to successful and rewarding duty?

J. J. ROBINSON.

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We do not believe in the omnipotence of a parliament of the scientific world. We know that the progress of discovery can be no more suddenly accelerated by a word of command uttered by a multitude than by a single voice. There is, as was long ago said, no royal road to knowledge, no possibility of shortening the way, because he who wishes to travel along it is the most powerful *one*; and just as little is there any mode of making it short, because they who press forward are *many*. We must all start from our actual position, and we cannot accelerate our advance by any method of giving to each man his mile of the road. Yet something we may do; we may take care that those who come ready and willing for the road, shall start from the proper point, and in the proper direction; shall not scramble over broken ground, when there is a causeway parallel to their path, nor set off confidently from an advanced point, when the first steps of the road are still doubtful; shall not waste their powers in struggling forwards where movement is not progress; and shall have pointed out to them all glimmerings of light through the dense and deep screen which divides us from the next bright region of philosophical truth. We cannot create, we cannot even direct, the powers of discovery, but we may perhaps aid them to direct themselves; we may perhaps enable them to feel how many of us are ready to admire their success; and willing, so far as it is possible for intellects of a common pitch, to minister to their exertions.—WHEWELL'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: British Association, June 25, 1833.

PART I.

The Safety and Development of the Empire.

CHAPTER I.

THE POINT OF VIEW.

REVEILLE.

Sleepers awake! the night is slowly dying,
The dawn is breaking on a thousand hills,
The truth is trickling in a thousand rills,
The phantoms of the past are swiftly flying,
The idols ignominiously lying
Deep in the dust of self-deluded wills,
The legendary righteousness that fills
Our bosoms with uncertainty and sighing,
The ignorance that knows not—cares not—why,
The cowardice that trembles at the firing,
The selfishness that truckles to a lie,
The prejudice that interdicts enquiring:
Did God give mind then but to dig a grave
Wherein to bury all the gifts He gave?

PHILIP ACTON.

All the business of war, and indeed all the business of life, is to endeavour to find out what you don't know by what you do.
—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON (Croker, III., 275).

This book is an invitation to men and women who believe in the building-up of nations to consider what they can best do to help rebuild their own country, which the War has shaken to its foundations. It seeks to suggest those factors in national and local administration which may help to this end. Such factors may even be regarded as new, in the sense that they have not hitherto been generally used, or indeed to any large extent called upon, since never in the annals of the British Empire has arisen, in its present degree, the imperious need for reconstruction. The book concerns itself, also, with the use of the power which men and women already possess; and it treats of this use in the actual circumstances of to-day.

It seeks to face some ascertained facts, and to assist in the performance of some manifest duties. It will be understood that a terse condensed form of expression is imposed by the subject matter and by the conditions of this first essay in a new enterprise.

"National Reconstruction" is not, perhaps, a happy title: one is loath to use it. But it is convenient; it is understood, and not infrequently used. Indeed, whether we think of "construction" or of "reconstruction," building is of the core of the matter. I shall therefore speak frequently of "constructors": the facts of life arrange the conditions for us, however we may describe the process. "National Reconstruction" has at any rate one advantage as a title—it roughly indicates the contents of this book.

After the War, the ruined cities and towns of France and Belgium will have to be rebuilt on much the same foundations of rock and of soil as now: their architects will meet the same climatic risks, guard against similar structural stresses, use very much the same class of material, and rear homes for the same types of people. So, in England and any country that shares our fortunes, the work of control and of administration will have to be wrought with the same materials as heretofore, and with similar tools, to meet similar conditions. There may be new sites; some new building materials; certainly some new devices; and many new designs and structural methods. What these may be, Time will decide. It will be our task, as opportunity offers, to work old and new into a more enduring and worthy edifice.

Let us begin, as Coleridge counsels, by laying open to common view the foundation stones of the edifice,

so that friends may not hesitate to trust themselves beneath the roof. For this purpose a few definitions may be given.

In these pages, then, "National Reconstruction" is taken to mean "the effective application of progressive knowledge to national development," a definition in which each term has its value. For instance, by "Application" is meant the putting of ascertained and competent knowledge into the work of national and local administration to-day and into our own personal duties. Again, by "Progressive knowledge" is meant that which is known and has yet to be applied, as well as that which has first to be discovered and then applied. "National development" stands for that which stimulates and fixes integrating growth in the units which make up a nation, both in their personal and corporate activities, the things they do for themselves and by themselves, and the purposes they share with others. The sub-title of the book, "A Study in Practical Politics and Statesmanship," better expresses the aim. "Practical" indicates that which touches or is shown in practical or actual use in the life of each of us; that which is applicable or available; that which is adapted to, or deals with, the common affairs of life. "Politics" stands for the art and science of government, of political affairs, of the right use of power, and of the administration of public affairs in the interest of the safety, prosperity, and peace of the State. Naturally, as politics is the science of the use of power, such a book as this will concern itself chiefly with the actual users of power, the grown-up voting units whose education in the use of their own power must accompany their personal and functional

development, wherever this process is at work.

It is not assumed that Man is, or now intends to be, governed by what he calls Knowledge; or, indeed, that he is yet clever enough to know where he is going, or precisely his best available route. The possible contribution of knowledge to national reconstruction is a sufficient programme: may it be found a useful, a stimulating, and sometimes even an entertaining one.

The point of view from which the book is written, and the method of treatment followed, may be illustrated by a rural anecdote: A Sussex schoolmaster having persuaded a gardener to attend some gardening lectures held in their village, after the third drew from his reluctant informant a report of his experiences. Had he enjoyed them? Yes, he had. Had he learnt anything fresh, anything he did not know before? "Oi caint say as 'ow oi 'av. Ye see, sir, it's this waay: wot oi un'erstood oi knew afore; an wot oi didn't know oi didn't un'erstand."

A contribution to National Construction must start, then, from the known knowledge and the acknowledged practice, must treat of circumstances as they are to-day, not as they should be or might be. We must apply ourselves to existing conditions, to living men and women and to the institutions in which they gather, for these are known and observable. We must use the materials allotted us, or those we have now allotted ourselves, whatever we may think of them, or they of us. It suffices that they have been given us to speak to, to influence, to work with.

Construction proposals which begin by antagonising or disestablishing Party Government, Party Churches,

Party Groups, or occupational categories that claim political power—are not Practical Politics. They absorb only those who run them, or oppose them; reconstructors have to use them, after studying them, not to abuse them before they have understood them. The nation's business is a "going concern"; and its paramount interests and duties "are the bricks with which we build." In this book, we shall pass in review the duties that fall to reconstructors of the type suggested, in their relations with the National Executive, with political parties, with the Naval and Military services, and with social, institutional, financial, and industrial groups, regarding each as a force in the national life which it is our privilege to serve. "The nation's duties" stand for what is due from us to make our Empire and our native country secure, prosperous, and strong. Commerce, national and natural resources—all must be set in fitting perspective: this is attempted in the first part of the book. Construction does not necessarily imply any new "systems": mankind is always throttling such. It does involve, however, that informative instant control over ever-varying, ever-fresh detail which re-shapes systems, discarding them painlessly by growth through new function. Surely in these days, in our Empire at least, construction can work with the flexible intelligence of adjustable wills, not through the violent revolutionary rendings of ignorance and passion. Living Nations have their choice: it must be the one or the other.

From national administration, the review will pass to the lesser administrative bodies by which most of the country's public work is done, in county, borough,

rural area. It is sometimes forgotten that England is, in the main, provincial and not metropolitan. In the "country" which is its most characteristic possession, a nation best learns the lessons of corporate life, and the pitfalls and possibilities of what has to be called "government," however difficult it may be to identify it under that label. Here, if we will, we may find apt apprenticeship to a new craft; here the nation manifests its weaknesses, records its significant failures, and is tutored in a university where degrees reward success, and disgrace follows failure, in assimilating the results of the new learning. Here professions can be put to the test, and the curative discipline of efficiency and fact applied with swift and sure pertinence. Here all that helps development can be studied at close quarters and encouraged: all that hinders development, noted and banned.

From local administration, the book will pass to the individual unit. "The more we understand individual things, the more we understand life,"—to alter Spinoza slightly. Therefore, constructors will concern themselves with the opportunities, the calls, and the duties of the citizen's daily life. This may be found to be the most characteristic section of the book, as indeed it is that on which most stress is intentionally laid. That there may be Construction we must have constructors; however faltering its invitation to men and women to share this work, an invitation will be found here. It may well be that the method suggested throughout will recommend itself first in this portion of the book. Propaganda of the customary type is neither counselled nor desired. Attack is. But it is an attack of the "offensive-defensive" type, which is so difficult

for enemies to master, and is sometimes illuminating to these enemies when they find themselves defeated. New knowledge on a familiar subject, like the key to a long-baffling problem, works, as does revelation, with the wonder of surprise. Its ally is always the sudden miracle, or that which, at the moment, seems a sudden miracle. The joy which prompted Archimedes to ejaculate "Eureka," was born of revelation; of such revelation the earth is full to-day, and to the seeker it is always as fresh and convincing as it was to him.

The method which seems to grow naturally out of the problem and this treatment of it, may well prove both seductive and convincing. The objective of constructors is not distant. It is not theirs to pursue to-day some goal beyond the horizons now visible to them; nor to seek insurance against a far-off storm which a newer electricity may dissipate. They deal with whatever is at hand; and they deal with it at once. They lead over to-day's parapet to the nearest hostile trench. Taking the field instantly, they apply the best remedy that is known to-day to the passing distemper of the day. No skilful rose-grower finds it difficult to lead the willing amateur into the better path, and to convince him of the better method,—when the problem is how best to grow roses, for the plant does so much of itself when cultivated with knowledge and care. Constructors have a greater plant than this, greater allies, and a nobler goal.

The definition of "National Reconstruction," if adopted, imposes on us two supreme duties.

First: Constructors must move into the open, and take all that knowledge has to give, wherever it is

found. In search for it, and use of it, they must be wholly independent of, though not indifferent to, all partisan, traditional, or empirical points of view. In obedience to their own special method, these can be tolerated, and understood; but they cannot be allowed to command, save in matters which specifically are reserved to them. Constructors will not construct satisfactorily if they are open to be bribed or bullied; they must be fearless pioneers, seeking the best knowledge, and using it wherever it is found.

Second: in their ministry, constructors—this is the point of view of the book—must understand and co-operate with the aptitudes and the instincts of the free race to which they belong, as these aptitudes and instincts may be now understood, or be later ascertained.

Finally: we are to be constructors, because we believe in development, as applied to living organisms. Growth is one of the great underlying phenomena of living matter; and we ally ourselves with growth as with the strongest of known powers, qualifying and interpreting the term "growth" as befits the goals to which, as rational human beings, we wish to move. It is suggested, therefore, that, in their work, constructors ought have regard to the duty of Enterprise —individual, social, and national—as the condition of growth; second, to informed and sustained Effort as the method of growth; and, third, to making reasonably secure the Reward of enterprise and of effort which, biologically and otherwise, establishes growth.

CHAPTER II.

RECONSTRUCTORS AND THE STATE LEGISLATURE.

Truth is a point; the subtilest and finest; harder than adamant; never to be broken, worn away, or blunted.—LANDOR.

A man of great knowledge and unwearable perseverance can really, by constantly pressing upon Ministers and departments, do more than a tied and harassed official, to shape public ends. —BERNARD HOLLAND, C.B.: *Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1917, p. 438.

National construction implies national constructors; practical statesmanship implies men and women willing to practise it. For the purpose of this and the immediately ensuing chapters, it is assumed that there are those who possess the best available knowledge of the day upon the issues with which the electorate will have to deal; that they will be willing to put it at the disposal of their country if their country asks for it; and that an organisation can be set up which shall comprise both those who know and those who have to apply what is known. Thus we shall speak freely of willing "National constructors," since they already exist in large numbers, and we shall suggest in the course of the work one of many possible forms of organisation through which the ends here set forth may be attempted.

National construction must give everyone a possible contact with it. We propose to take the "contacts" in turn. It is the object of this chapter to suggest the contacts that can here and now be established between those who care for National

construction as already defined, and the State Legislature. In later chapters a sequence in which national needs may be profitably studied will be suggested; but neither here nor in any chapter will there be any attempt made, save by occasional illustration, to enumerate the particular Legislative or State administrative proposals construction will require. So many pens have catalogued these; so many organised groups are concerned in propaganda connected with one or other of them, that a popular work intended to suggest practical methods of effecting most, need not advocate any. Its object is far wider; it refers mind to its own enlightenment for truths essential to its own growth; it suggests methods which are applicable to all creditable objective activities, and are adaptable to the use of all intelligences and on most occasions. Resisting classification in any "ism," and reluctant to rank with any "ists," it finds work for those who have "isms" of their own, and wish to be counted with the "ists."

Some potent reconstructors of the British Army, to whom we owe our Empire's narrow insurance from ruin, established their earliest definite relations with the National Executive when Sir Garnet Wolseley entered the War Office as Commander-in-Chief and Reconstructor. He began his duties by asking the then British Government a question. He sat down at his desk, and in writing asked the Cabinet of the day to tell him, also in writing, for what purposes the British Army was maintained by the British Government, so that he might know for what purposes to train it. It took him weary months to get that answer in the Stanhope Memorandum, the little seed of the

new Imperial Army. No one had asked that question; at least, no answer to it was to be found by the Commander-in-Chief in the War Office itself.

Yet was it not the first question to be asked?

This illustration is used to suggest that practical statesmen, acting for the electorate, may well start by asking for clear statements of objectives in all legislation, and by being men enough to insist on answers for which the people who answer may be held responsible. When the electorate—knowing why—finds time and chooses the opportunity to ask the questions that appertain to State control, and is strong enough—knowing how—to get answers from those to whom it entrusts power, the path of efficient workers will be visible, and the nation itself may go forward to its highest duties. But we are a long way from that yet. Meanwhile, may we not try to raise the Parliamentary Question from a Party, and often a petty, Pastime to a Dignified Pursuit?

The practical work of any constructor in Parliament would then include, as a beginning, in every State proposal that request for a defined objective which is due from the Cabinet, fair to the State Department concerned, just to the electorate, and required by common-sense. No legislative goal that has not been clearly stated can ever be approached—intelligently; the compass direction may not always avail, but it is usually worth finding, stating, and examining. Our national history is strewn with failures in war, statesmanship, and commerce, directly attributable to flagrant disregard by our Governments of this determining first-step, the definition of the objective, and it is the earliest duty of honest

administrators and practical politicians to see that it is always taken. Nothing more swiftly disconcerts Power ignorant of its duty—and when has it been equipped for it?—than to be asked to state its precise objective, and to face competent examination thereon before action is permitted or pushed. What better aids Power eager to do its work well, or the expert anxious to make his special knowledge available, than an opportunity to state objectives in terms which will make the co-operation of others possible, even if they do not, as they well may, attract or provoke co-operation. It is the duty of constructors to aid development from whatever camp it emerges.

If this be true where objectives are avowable and avowed, how much more necessary the disciplinary test in cases, much more numerous it is to be feared, where the real objective is concealed, either by design or by sloth. How punishing, too, this weapon when the objective is an unworthy one: the yielding to ignorant and passing prejudice, the capitulation to a popular or propagandist spasm, the acquiescence in a direct or roundabout bid for votes. From time to time all these are necessary to judicious government of the injudicious; they recall primitive pastimes, the instinctive human traits which make for variety and relieve pressures. Nothing on this flank of sidereal space will probably prevent, for many decades to come, these and similar reminiscences of Man's ancestral prison-house. But constructors will and must do their duty by quietly witnessing against them, and so fixing responsibility where it ought to rest. Such warfare has something of the summoning clarion, surely. What is a more deadly

foe of Ignorance, Falsehood, and Fraud, than the "Question" in the hands of honest and efficient knowledge? Questioning is not a pastime: it is a high and serious enterprise, for the form of the question is often decisive of the answer. When the adequate question is framed by knowledge, how exhilarating the "putting" test? These pages could be filled with instances of the deadly use of this most perfect lance when it is wielded by a competent lancer. To change the metaphor, is there any bomb more desolating than Truth, when the fuse is correctly timed, and the bomb accurately thrown?

More! Unless the electorate and Members of Parliament insist on getting from responsible holders of Power defined objectives, it is difficult to attach to chiefs the responsibility which is the best guarantee of success, the best insurance against fraudulent failure; difficult, also, to assemble and manœuvre the aiding forces that will co-operate to the stated end. It will not be easy to get objectives thus defined: it is not an easy thing to define an objective, and in public business it is very rarely done. Defined objectives follow vision; and vision is rare. They imply adequate knowledge of facts, and this is usually picked up after a Bill has been introduced. They compel methods to be challenged, and this impels to the facing of facts, of which there is too little and cannot well be too much. Imagine the change implicit here. What could not a score of able men, adequately informed, effect, and yet be rich in wholesome love of the brethren. How quickly would the vaccine operate! "What is, in writing, your exact object—what are you going to try to do?" "What will it cost? "Who

is to have the Control and who the Administration?" "What does he or she know about the subject matter?" "Are executive appointments to be given to those who have learnt the work, or to those who have to learn it?" "Are we going to pay the latter folk, or are they going to pay us?" "How will you prove to us that the officials do their duty?" "How will you punish them if they do not?" "How did the man to whom you propose to give power get the power he has, and how has he used it?" "Can he govern himself?" "Has he ever governed anything else well?"

In a group of willing workers accepting the policy stated in Chapter 1, we shall have the initiatory body for this enterprise. Also, in the Houses of Parliament, as set up to-day and returned by the present or by any probable voting machinery, we have an admirable medium for national apprenticeship to National construction: indeed an ideal instrument, by Time designed and fitted to every freak of fortune or of capacity. No new National Party is desired or desirable: the two words are self-destructive, like many competing projects that will be postponed till the advent of the millenium—perhaps when another star is polar! In Parliament we have a convenient starting-point too; not that our projects really start there. And this not because the National Legislature is the most important part of national organisation to the practical constructor, nor that to which his best work can first be given. It is neither. But because it is a school many go to by deputy, to take the prizes and to dodge the penalties. It is the digestive organ of the body politic, and the theoretical embodi-

ment of imagined control; that in which the voter is epidemically interested, that which he thinks he can, or should, control, that with which he usually wishes to establish some sort of personal relation flattering to his pride, or expansive of his personal or corporate dignity; the temple in which he keeps and dusts or smashes his variable household idols and demons, the Ark of his Covenant from whose altars his imagination may most quickly be reached. It is the Whispering Gallery of the Empire. Why should not Truth whisper in it sometimes? It focusses the administrative interests of every county, country, and class: obviously a domed and attractive theatre for Person and for Propaganda—and why not, now, for pertinacious principle?

It is wholly congenial, also, for the supreme reason that it is the appointed and necessary stage whereon the Powers, Interests, and Passions of the Nation have to adjust and harmonise, however roughly, their combatant claims, very inadequately and often unjustly no doubt. Without any hope of, as yet, swaying it from its chosen path, in and through it, it is possible to conduct that guerilla warfare of Knowledge directed by dedicated intelligence, which must be the earliest task of any constructor in Parliament. Guerilla chiefs pierce the weak points in the organised arrays; this is the only thing we should be able first to do in Parliament. Guerilla chiefs keep alive the spirit of resistance and of the offensive till the heavier masses can be organised. That is our work, too. Like the Expeditionary Army, they are the spearhead of the developing strength. In war the sudden attack on some unexpected sector schools both friend and foe.

That is our opportunity as constructors; our chances will come suddenly, and must be used with guerilla swiftness. Here, we have the convincing pencil, letter, or query, swooping down on some unwary gasbag, to the undoing of wrong and to the augmentation of the gaiety of the nations. For this, what forum more fortunate can there be than each Parliamentary Session, with its ill-defined objectives secreted from half-realised facts.

The group here assumed would, by constitution and organisation, be possessed of, or be in available touch with, existing scientific knowledge on all matters with which the contemplated legislation deals. There is no scarcity of available knowledge; all that is needed to-day is the focussing lens; sunlight will do the rest. There are to-day organised bodies whose business it is to keep themselves abreast of that which knowledge gives, for the advancement of their own institutional aims or trade objects. They would be potential allies if not dependable ones always, for they are out for knowledge they can apply to their personal or group ends, and that point of view, being partisan and selfish, is good neither for political sight nor insight: it often suggests, or imparts, a squint. Does any metaphor better describe the familiar phenomena of party legislation: this affection of the sight in which the axes of the eyes are differently directed. Constructors, in the light of the law to which they appeal and by which they live, on which they depend solely for their vindication and success, while wooing the sources of available knowledge, must bear equal loyalty to the ends for which knowledge is to be sought and used, and to the goal, however distant, which as

constructors they have set before themselves.

There are many Members of Parliament to whom this exact service is now both open and attractive: they would form the working nucleus in Parliament to which such tasks could be given. These would have behind them, outside Parliament, an explanatory group working for their ends, equipped with their technical ammunition, correlating every available resource in provincial areas, and acting, through many channels, old and new, to be hereafter described, on co-operating self-governing bodies and in the constituencies. How hopeful the strategy; how profoundly entertaining the tactic! No law yet possible to Man will ever prevent Power that rates itself too highly, making gross errors when it acts, as it often does, in obedience to interest of any type. In a free and growing country, shall we ever have the sad desolation of fool-proof State machinery? And while imperfection persists, construction, and laughter and joy in constructing, will persist too!

It is well to remind ourselves that the greatest educational force present in man is the freedom he has to play the fool—to suffer from it, to join the laugh against himself when he realises it. That way lies sanity and safety. Nothing more quickly illuminates man in essentials than to be compelled to accept his own creed preached against himself, and not mainly, as is our wont, by ourselves for the benefit of others. He who has to make and maintain the instrument to which he entrusts his life is not likely to dally or to doze at the critical jointing. Not for a futile end was it a custom that the mechanic accompanied the aviator on the machine he got ready for him.

To Government departments organised on scientific lines, such a group of workers may be of very real value; indeed, it will be unwise for departments, or for any official acting for or with them, to proceed without the help they would be in a position to give. The Government of to-day has made construction one of its legislative tasks, beginning with machinery, as is its inevitable temptation. It has in a few years ploughed up more fallow and harnessed the best available knowledge more freely to administrative work than has any preceding Adminstration. And it is unreasonable to suppose that when the stimulus is withdrawn, there will be the same urgency of spirit. That may suit propaganda: nothing in history suggests it. Most necessary, therefore, is it at an early date to gather a nucleus of willing workers to help every Government Department which is either properly organised, or, being improperly organised by tradition, wishes to bring itself into line with modern needs and opportunities. There are many ways in which help can be given in the Houses of Parliament, and in the areas concretely affected by Acts of Parliament, to baffle interests that have to be fought, to support causes that have to be won. Above all: there is the co-operation of an informed public opinion to be encouraged. In place of the prejudiced and partisan statements of political friends and opponents, the voters must have facts, vital to right decision, presented without selfish bias or the distortion of the partisan.

One tactical advantage is possessed by workers of this type. By goal and method we would stand outside the institutional, traditional, and

consecrated methods of propaganda in the interests of a Church, a party, an institution, a class, which have done so much to sheathe the individual will in almost impenetrable brass. We are the dedicated servants of all, not the servant of any. And we need not affront the self-respect of Englishmen as propagandists often have to do. We are not out to impose any views on others, to take cash for sectional ends, to ordain, command, or hypnotise in things mortal or immortal. We have bigger game to hunt for men and for the State. Besieged by missionaries of all types to-day, sacred and secular, courted for his opinion—what is that worth?—or for his political support—what does that avail?—the modern elector is prone to set far too high a price on both, and even to abuse the very purposes for which both should be used. With the empirical or the traditional, to be enjoined on others, we have nothing to do. Each man knows, however dimly, that he exists; feels, however feebly, the separate world in which he has to live, for he was born alone, generally lives alone, and has to die alone. The best defend the citadel against propagandist attacks; long may that passive resistance persist. But man welcomes the revelation that, beginning with conviction, within himself, of the worse, opens to him the better, gives him the glad but certain fruit of experience, the added light that follows vindication of new courses and choices by results he can both see and feel. He is on his guard against an advocacy that seeks his support to get its own ends without reference to his needs; in politics that has too often meant, as he recalls, the power to annex the loaves and fishes and to leave him the empty basket.

NATIONAL UNIONIST ASSOCIATION REFERENCE AND POLITICAL LIBRARY

Have we not here the root of much of the sturdy indifference with which platform and pamphlet propaganda are met; and has not this indifference been justified?

Many decades will pass before we emerge from the slough of selfish propaganda. In days of old, to be a Reformer cost the Reformer the lash, the prison, and the stake. For many years now Reform has been a very profitable industry; it leads to a fixed annual salary, and often to the very considerable prizes reserved for the best players of the game. Democracy may well look askance at men and women who stand to gain personally by the disciplinary practice they wish to prescribe for others. To do things—how difficult! To do them well—how profoundly worth while. Are not these articles of our creed? To grow thus, and in this practice, how splendid a faith. So in Parliament, like processes would lead to like ends. There, Opportunity gives the student of the Time his chance, and if he be wise he need not confine his missiles to words. There will be sufficient at any time to welcome the quiet statement of fact, to mark the folly and loss that followed the easier choice. And Nemesis will be there, too, to drive the dagger home. The appeal will be always and everywhere: Choose ye. This is the best we have. Yours the choice—the burden and the lesson. You pay the loss; there is no construction unless you construct.

Our objective, and method, will obtain equally with regard to the propagandist action foreshadowed as necessary in the constituencies in regard to our own activity: it is safe to aver that they will not have had

anything like it. It should prove novel; and it need not prove dull. It has, indeed, uniquely humanistic and captivating attractions. Why should it not prove effective? Because the imposition of defined and rigid action is barred by the rules of reason and the game, it will not be necessary also to withhold statements of demonstrable fact, or appeals to verifiable data. Nor need we shrink from invitations to hearers to adjust their present points of view, so that new and quite other facts may be apprehended by all of us, facts applicable to the practical problems present with every son of a woman in the audience, and to every woman who hopes to have, or help, a son. In theory and in practice, invitation is as distant from prophetic denunciation as friendly delimitation is from conquest.

The guerilla metaphor was earlier used. Is it realised that we operate from a secret base; and this few guerilla chiefs possessed. Our base is movable, adjustable, yet founded on the realities of things as search and work and knowledge reveal them to us. Our communications need never be cut off: we carry our own provender with us, and the Universe itself, always open to its pupils, is our armoury.

CHAPTER III.

THE NEW IMPERIAL FIGHTING SERVICES.

Believe me, I know the Prussians. We are destitute of the means for a struggle with them. We have no generals, no men, no material of war. We shall be pounded. — Prévost Paradol (French Ambassador at Washington, July, 1870) to Count d'Hérisson.

DUTY.

How like a trumpet from the sentinel
Angel, that standeth in the morning star
Empanoplied and plumed, as angels are
Whom God doth charge to watch that all be well,
Cometh to me thy call, O terrible,
That, girt, and crown'd and sworded for Heaven's war,
Standest supreme above the confused jar
Of shock'd antagonisms, and the yell
Of trampled Pain! Thou of the solemn eyes,
Firm-fronted Duty, on whose high Command
My heart waits awed, stretch forth thy harness'd hand,
And with a louder summons bid arise
My soul to battle. Hark, the muster roll!
Thy name is call'd. Forth, thou poor conscript soul!

ROBERT, EARL LYTTON.

Since they are not yet governing the nation, nor wishing to do so, Practical Politicians in consultation will probably find the order in which they have to ponder national activities bearing on the security and development of the Empire, decided for them by causes outside their effective control. The order itself need not now be a matter of debate.

Whatever else may follow the mobilisation of the best available knowledge for the tasks of construction, no programme is likely to attach to it the informing and reforming intelligences of the Empire

which does not at once make the Security and Development of that Empire its first duty. An Empire that is not secure, cannot be either constructed or developed. Protection in the possession of statutory right, in the performance of all reasonable duty, and security to all under its jurisdiction, are the first ends of Government. Governments are paid and tolerated to give these, and they betray their trusts if they do not. Now, Security is ensured to-day (in theory, at least) by the Fighting or Protective Forces of the Empire, and the object of this and the following chapter is to suggest to the electorate why the reorganisation and maintenance of these Forces are the first tasks. Modern war depends upon trained, educated, and efficient brain and will-power, as on applied science and on supplies of natural and artificial products in huge volume; nothing less than the possible mobilisation, on demand, of the full resources of a nation will maintain it in the rank of self-respecting and respected peoples, or prevent it being mastered and overrun. Navies and armies, on land, water, or in the air, pivot on scientific and technical knowledge guided by an adequate sense of history. National ruin, as we have seen, threatens the unscientific, the ignorant, and the undutiful nations, undutiful in the sense that self-preservation is the duty of every nation.

Facts force this first task upon us, and give us our first great opportunity. At the call of honour and of necessity, the country has, for the first time in her history, waged competent and scientific war in a Continental theatre; and in the instrument she has forged she will possess an asset for construction of unprecedented value. Many of her best and most

energetic wills have been silenced in death; but sufficient should be left to mobilise an army-corps of constructors. Not all, perhaps not most soldiers, will be able to interpret in terms of national life the experiences they have shared. Many may well be content to have done with war for their day, and to leave to others, or to none, the fulfilment of further national duty. Even so, theirs will be surely an attitude more creditable than that of possible home-stayers in our cosy island whom no national punishment will ever sting into the acceptance of national duty, or waken from traditional and self-complacent theories of a comfortable earth for themselves as a prelude to a still more comfortable and unmerited continuation. But there will be sufficient workers for good to give the officers we want; sufficient to equip the non-commissioned quotas. And what of the rank and file of immeasurable deeds? Having learnt so much, suffered so much, given so much, trod the tempestuous courts of blind and baffling Death, they will return, knowing more than civilians can of the waste, the thievery, the stench, the stupidity, the self-suppression and greatness, the tests and contacts, the heroism and companionship, the skill and the majestic stimulus of modern war. The machinery of the improvised national makeshift, where it touches the voter and the men for whose fate we all work, will have been shown them. They will know, as few of their fellows can know, the raucous rules of the terrible game in which they have been often harried, and apparently helpless, pawns. Having learnt new values and tested the old values, they will be possessed of that invaluable personal compass

which has made construction possible in the past, and is the chief hope of constructors in the future. To them, and not to the dull ears of the unwitting, will the call to service come with some hope of success; and, in their presence, students who know the story of the military administration of their country may safely make their new surveys and discuss the nation's next and necessary steps. Is that audience to be lost to this generation? Is that asset to be unutilised?

No national record has been worse treated in this country than naval and military history; and it is only within the last decades that it has approximated to its own. Better days are coming. Military history has attained professorial rank at the Universities. Even a British Government was roused to decide officially how the battle of Trafalgar was really won, one hundred years after it had been fought, and this when the exact manner of its winning concerned the technical reputation of the chief naval strategist of modern history—an Englishman. This belonged to the days of our insularity, to the time when Navy and Army, divorced from the national life, had their own professional and family jargons, when neither Service drew on the best brains, nor could practise in daily routine the best methods of intelligent men. To-day our best of one generation have manned both; and our best are running both. No class of the nation stands unrelated to the nation's chief duty. There should be audiences to whom can now be made clear the successive lessons our people have had, and the price to be paid when facts are not faced and obvious duty is persistently shirked. There should be speakers

who have seen the price paid, and who know the sure specifics of safety.

War is not a conjectural art; and it would help most of us to know very much more about it. What is fiction to its records? What is prophecy compared with its lurid tuition? There has rarely been a modern war—certainly not up to 1914—the result of which was not approximately known to students six months before the first shot was fired in it. People do not believe that, because they do not know enough about war to know what to believe or to disbelieve. Wars of the national type introduced by Prussia in 1914, involve obscurer factors, and final decisions may be delayed and complex. But, generically, the rule will hold: it has already been adequately illustrated in this last and greatest of cataclysms.

The story of England's war-making, as students know, is a story of appalling ignorance of their duty on the part of the political rulers of this country, in that they rarely learnt, or cared to learn, how to make the country's will effective anywhere; nor made that knowledge possible to, and compulsory on, the Navy and the Army they dandled. Their friends have written most of the "history" and hidden most of their failures, or excused them. Is there any other self-respecting modern race of which it can be said, as it can be said of us, that we hired Germans to fight our own family connections, because we were too lazy to do the work ourselves? or that in the battle on which we most pride ourselves as being fought for our Freedom, British soldiers were in the minority, and Germans and Dutch toed the line in superior strength by our side? The Waterloo field-state is well-known

abroad. Is it known at home? The Boer War established a much finer precedent in that the dominant race took the load and bore it throughout. Since, then, the country aspires to govern itself, and wishes to believe that it does, it may well be invited to face the unpalatable facts of the past, so that it may cease to do its first duty by deputy, or by the use of subsidised races, as was the handy habit once, but may take its own reins into its own hands, and both make and govern its own Army and its own Navy. Can it claim to govern either, if it does not make either?

The country has the highest possible incentive thereto, for in most of its warlike records the story of the actual prowess of its fighting representatives and families is superb. The men educated in its Army School have been among the pillars of civilisation. Its roll of successful generals—men who have won peace for their country, and safety for prostrate and oppressed peoples—is splendid beyond comparison. There is scarcely a device in tactics, or a great strategical conception, which has not been illustrated in a new theatre by British generals and regimental officers, and, were the truth known, many innovations in old theatres are attributable to British practical improvisation when facing tests under the compulsion of swift decision. Even the magnificent and flexible conception of movement out of which the Marne deployment grew, if it owed aught to Napoleon's 1806 working hypothesis, was derived primarily from the feat of a scarcely known British officer in distant India. It was Colonel Fullarton* who thus baffled the Mahrattas

* Fortescue's History of the British Army, Vol. III., p. 494.

in a country they knew, and he did not. In our Army, as the late Colonel Henderson was wont to remind us, this country has the oldest organised white Army that civilisation now knows; the Army with the longest and most continuous historic record, whose work has been, on the whole, representative of the rule of honour, probity, and peace on the planet. Its Navy for hundreds of years—whatever may be said of its buccaneering youth—has been the "sure shield" of freedom on the seas. In both Services the personnel have vindicated the aptitudes and merits of a cleanly, decent-minded, and free race; and from both services the nation has drawn at will, and in every need, administrators who have won from the tests of their peace and field occupations, the methods of successful and memorable government in every part of the Empire.

It would be beyond the purpose of this chapter to recite the reasons why organisation for defence is held to be necessary. They cannot even be summarised. To guard against misconception, it may be well to say that there is here no sympathy with the travesties of biological generalisations familiar to German professors. "That organisms rise to higher things not on stepping-stones of their dead selves, but on the dead bodies of all that come in their way"; and that, to quote German statutory war literature, "the war of 1866 between Prussia and Austria was a necessity of the history of the world" because Germans wanted it, are heresies which are prone to occur to men in a hurry to get sanction for sacking. The writer is a lover of peace, and pursues it; but he believes there are evils much greater than war, and

that capitulation to a lower type of ideals is one. All prophecies on the future fate of fighting and of non-fighting races are futile. War seems implicit in every English county to-day; and in the faces and hearts of the men and women who inhabit them. Till men know themselves and their medium better—not a few men, but most men—how is it possible to say what this or that people or family of peoples will want to do next in the assumed generations of unlessoned democracies? Practical politicians must take the facts of life as they are, first, so that they may understand them. In the view of this writer, war is at least as probable as death, birth, marriage, trade disputes, strikes, peaceful picketing, the quarrels of party churches, human greed and credulity, human ideals and love of power, and the probable behaviour of human herds under passionate and still untested ambitions. It would be true, but perhaps not tactful, to say that nothing makes war in the future seem more certain than the ingrained precepts and practices of the pacifists. In no department of political activity are the empirical and the traditional more firmly rooted than in the mentality of propagandists who have pursued peace before they understood man, and have usually succeeded first in making a war inevitable, and then in nearly losing it. Upon such foundations is mischief built. Let ours be the path of better knowledge and of ascertained duty. Here it is assumed that war, as an instrument of policy, will come within the ambit of national administration for a few generations yet. It may well be that after producing the Twentieth Century Englishman and American, Nature will break her

lathes and stay her tooling; but perhaps the odds are against this climax. The planet may be destined to be possessed by self-complaisant, self-centred races, each fattening in its own stye. But that seems improbable also. In the indestructible prose of a military history at last approaching adequacy, warning and guidance are there for all to see. They cannot now be gainsaid. Readers can scout for themselves. The facts can be made patent and potent on any platform. If only the nation knew them, if only the nation could be told them even, practical politicians, in this regard at least, would get a hearing, and might well hope for a test. These are all the practical politician asks. In the light of our terrible losses, in the tragedy of our hideous peril still to be harvested, is either to be denied?

CHAPTER IV.

THE NEW IMPERIAL FIGHTING SERVICES: CONTINUED.

The principle of compulsory military service, obligatory upon every able-bodied male between the ages of sixteen and sixty, is still the fundamental principle of English Law, both Common Law and Statute Law. It has been obscured by the pernicious voluntary principle, which, in the much-abused name of Liberty, has shifted a universal national duty upon the shoulders of the patriotic few. But it has never been revoked or repudiated. It is not National Service, but the Voluntary System, that is un-English and unhistoric. The Territorial Army dates from 1908; the Volunteers from 1859; the Regular Army itself only from 1645. But for a millennium before the oldest of them the ancient defence of England was the Nation in Arms. When will it be so again?—F. J. C. HEARNSHAW, M.A., LL.D.

A general officer came in from his command at this juncture, and said to the general-in-chief, speaking rapidly and laboring under considerable excitement: "General Grant, this is a crisis that cannot be looked upon too seriously. I know Lee's methods well by past experience; he will throw his whole army between us and the Rapidan, and cut us off completely from our communications." The general rose to his feet, took his cigar out of his mouth, turned to the officer, and replied, with a degree of animation which he seldom manifested: "Oh, I am heartily tired of hearing about what Lee is going to do. Some of you always seem to think he is suddenly going to turn a double somersault, and land in our rear and on both of our flanks at the same time. Go back to your command, and try to think what we are going to do ourselves, instead of what Lee is going to do." The officer retired rather crestfallen, and without saying a word in reply.—GENERAL HORACE PORTER, LL.D.: "Campaigning with Grant," p. 69-70.

To govern a Navy or an Army demands more than an easy wish, a unanimous resolution by a Legislature. Ignorance, either personal or corporate, can never avail in government. "Government" implies know-

ledge of the ends or objectives for which both Navy and Army are kept up, and the ability to provide their tools and equipment, to discriminate in selecting competent administrators and executive chiefs, and to get duty done. The electorate, through representatives, if not directly, must know the functions of both Services, and approximately how each can best perform these; and it must stand possessed of the means by which some approach to adequate fulfilment of duty can be got. If functions are not known, if duty is not faced and exacted, the electorate cannot expect, nor indeed will it deserve, the security in which alone it can practise its own cherished prerogatives.

There are grave national reasons why nations should forthwith apprehend this part of their business. We are all politicians to-day, or wish to be thought so. In politics are the seeds of modern wars; and politicians will make the wars. War will usually be contemplated for the protection of political interests as to which separate race families will feel strongly, may differ tragically, and may want to act hastily, without really knowing very much about deep-seated antagonisms. It may be well, in years when these things come to assize, to have national armies in which voters will have to fight: there will be less risk of untimely haste. War is the servant of policy—good or bad according to the pharmacist. Every sound naval and military organisation has and must have, for reasons which cannot be fully stated, a definite national character; it will partake of, and represent, the nation, and be the outcome of racial practices, whatever these may be. Its origin, its methods of maintenance and employment, will be

over-ruled by race-aptitudes, by tradition, by tribal traits—all truly national factors. These will assuredly affect, if they do not determine, the strategy for which both Navy and Army will be trained, the tactics to which both will have to be habituated. The Great War has given us striking illustrations in proof; tribal and racial aptitudes emerged at the outset through every crust, and persisted. It is impossible to-day to reconstruct the new Imperial Fighting Services on any lines not national from root to topmost twig, and, as that is so, the nations of the Empire themselves must do the work. They must learn, and they must perfect themselves in, the adequate use of each, so that in any case these instruments may be preserved from untimely abuse.

How arresting has been the inequality of sacrifice asked for from the generations who made the Great War, saw it, shared it, will live to pay its price and enjoy its prize! It may be impossible to adjust inequality. It may be undesirable, for who that knows the stuff out of which man is fashioned would really wish to deprive the pioneer of his peculiar and unpurchasable privilege, the missionary of his unforgettable risk, the mothers of heroes of the incommunicable laurels? But the electorate, as a maker of an efficient business, is directly concerned in bringing home to every participant in national security, his or her personal responsibility for a share of the national duty that preserves it, and in enlisting all healthy and formative influences on the side of faithful performance. Some will always evade their duty: we want them for warnings. Some will glory in excuses acceptable to their personal comfort: we

want them as foils to the faithful. Even the extreme individualist has his use; and the anarchist, innocuous or nauseous, is an admirable background to the common virtues—the Ten Commandments and Common Sense—making these appear even adorable. Let us have all for our tuition; and then let us learn to seek our own errand for our own intense enjoyment.

It is further suggested to an electorate whose destiny depends on its right use of power, that both (1) in naval and military records and in (2) new democratic routine of naval and military duty, it will be able to graduate in a very efficient university. One illustration may be taken. Few gains are of greater practical value to constructors than confidence in the creative and controlling power of the human will over circumstances, if it realises its hour. In every branch of social, commercial, and administrative life, men and women are to be found who invariably capitulate to obstacles they should either overcome or turn to opportunities. To this unfaith, this mental cowardice, we owe so much of the insignificance of corporate achievement in education, in town and county government, in the provident orders, the professions, in politics, and Parliament. Men believe neither in Will nor in Life. Where can men and women best mark the prize of effort, the death-penalties on sloth? Will the records of scientific or artistic enterprise suffice: Palissy's endurance, Pasteur's courage, Darwin's doggedness, Mendel's patience? Galileo's exploits may, for he was caught in religious vortices, and these excite very many, since most are acquainted with the process, active or passive, in imagination or by experience.

Surely it will be easier to heed the portent in the decisions taken in crises by the great soldiers and sailors which exemplify, not daring only, but exactly that combination of competent knowledge and cool resolution to which things terrestrial so often submit themselves as to a master born to sway them. What history is richer than war's in such precedents? Only a few of the most characteristic need be mentioned here. Take the story of Clive before and at Arcot, and at Covrepauk; of Hawke at Quiberon Bay; of Nelson at Aboukir; of Lake in battle-tactics in India; of Moore, in his masterly foiling of Napoleon; of Wellesley at Assaye and more triumphantly at Salamanca, his chef d'œuvre, where he packed the prisoned passion of weary and baffled months into one quick decision that, in forty minutes, altered the fortunes of the Peninsula War; of the young Bonaparte in Verona before Arcola, and perhaps even more brilliantly still just before Eckmuhl, in which decisions born of informed and disciplined will triumphed over the apparent fiats of Fate. The Spanish conquest of Mexico pivots on the decision Cortes took in Tlascala, at the darkest hour of his first overthrow and dismay. Had his will then faltered he would have been undone. He made opportunities of his obstacles, and thenceforth Fortune took him by the open hand. When Grant entered the field against Lee, it was evident that to him, as to others, would come the hypnotic test to which Lee had subjected in succession every previous commander of the Army of the Potomac, and that upon his personal reaction thereto would depend the fortunes of the Union. There are few more decisive examples of the exact triumphs for

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which Man—as distinguished from men—has to look, than that which Grant achieved at the end of the second day of the Wilderness,—when, after bloody slaughter in thick woods before him, and rumoured ruin on his right and his communications, that excited General of Horace Porter's narrative threw the Lee tradition at Grant's head, only to receive the pent-up discharge which so abashed and astonished him. This was the only pointed reprimand Grant ever administered on active service, General Porter says; none ever tried to hypnotise Grant with Lee after that. Grant's rooted objective, gripped by real will, gave rise on the third day to the southward march, and that meant ultimately Richmond, the Appomattox, one flag from sea to sea, and a great Army fighting for the Free Nations on a world-wide battlefield. It would have been in accord with Potomac precedents if Grant had retreated at the end of the second day. He did not: one human will in a round box of bone, which was sustained throughout a critical day on a raw cucumber, coffee, and a dozen cigars. Subtle chemistry that! Grant was in war a good practical politician: if he could anyhow go forward, he never took a step back.

If we wish to make quite clear to the typical man what typically human gifts and powers, however obscure, can effect for good, if he will only believe in and study Man, we shall most often have to go to these life and death contests for our vivid and useful illustrations. Theirs is a common language understanded of the people. And what Reference Library greater than that of the Great War's records will any civilised race possess? True, there should

be a recognition of the heroism of the explorer, the irrigator, the road-maker, the health-bringer, the discoverer, the apostle; but these work more solitarily, and engage a more limited, if a higher-typed, admiration.

In the routine training of naval and of military service, the race can be taken through most necessary standards by methods at once congenial and aiding. Growth, physical and mental, seems to reside therein. Not that this has been inevitable in the past. That the Services have marred many is indisputable; that some men and women will leave the nation's service worse than they entered it, is undeniable. To draw up an indictment against either routine because of this, is to draw up an indictment against Life. And that we leave to others. Where, save through a service of ordered task and responsibility—properly organised as is the premise—can the electorate better grip the duties of power and observe the rules which govern its right practice: the intent of discipline; the apportionment of function; the hierarchy of control; the importance of brains at the top; the genius of leadership—how that is to be commanded or communicated; the sovereignty of the moral over the physical—how that is to be gendered and maintained; the concentration of the whole force of a State on the selected objective—how that is to be compelled. All these requirements have to be understood and met in war; and all are vital to every national undertaking as such.

A few more questions and inferential answers.

Is the new Imperial Army to possess the Empire or is the Empire to possess it? If the latter, what do we mean by possession and how can we see that we

exercise it? Surely by knowledge, character, and will, the terrestrial trinity.

Are we going to control the military spirit or is it going to control us?—Why not the first?

Throughout the past, success has generally attended naval and military operations wherever the methods of efficient men have been followed: the study of the facts first, the selection of the right objective, the provision betimes of the necessary instruments, ordinary care and skill in the recognition of obvious duty, and ordinary willingness to perform it in time. This country actually accomplished one such task in the despatch of the Expeditionary Force. What has been done can be done again. No miracles are asked for nor are they needed. The performance of duty suffices.

What of the Future?

Is it to be supposed that the art and science of war —for war is and will remain as much an art as a science —have naught beyond this last clumsy and riotous expression, these monstrous masses of ignorant and drilled hordes such as the mediæval superstitions and the fears of a group of shabby white men have tortured us with? Even before the war, writers and generals saw the days returning when much smaller armies, really well trained, really well equipped, and well led, would transform strategy, and would newly illuminate tactics. What a few, with brains and a field-gun, could do against numbers was seen at the Couronné de Nancy; and what would have been the fate of the German invading right had the British Force, set in its path, been equipped with adequate artillery and reinforcements, both flanks safe, covering

an impregnable sea base, in a position from which the Kaiser would have had to expel it, or to acknowledge defeat. So far as tactics went, there was no reason, other arms being equal, why any German infantry divisions should ever have broken into a position manned by riflemen such as those of the Expeditionary Force. Is the day of the small efficient and mobile striking force gone? Will not a League of Nations have to create one?

CHAPTER V.

RECONSTRUCTORS IN AGRICULTURE AND MANUFACTURES.

Nature to be mastered must be served.—BACON.

The essence of science consists in putting a clear question to Nature and wresting a clear answer from her.—*Nature.*

> The'ry thinks Fact a pooty thing,
> An' wants the banns read right ensuin';
> But Fact wun't noways wear the ring,
> 'Thout years o' settin' up an' wooin'.
>
> *Lowell.*

Agriculture and Manufactures—each the visible application of available knowledge to national possessions and resources—may well come next among the enterprises in which our new method may be tested, and our objective illustrated. These concern by far the larger number of participants in the work of the Empire, and any such group as that premised here must look for allies among them, and must exist to serve them. It would be our duty to co-operate in all efforts which seek for and apply new knowledge, open new paths to development, or confirm progress in older paths. It will surely be well to have a central body of willing originators who know by actual tests that on this planet it is necessary to run very fast to keep in the same place; and that in the uses to which we put our soils, our seeds, our machines, our staffs, nothing can be more important than that the country should be aided to see essential facts, to get the grit to face them, and then to orient wills and methods to the determined

objective. It will be no mean or trivial gift to our time to enrol willing workers among those entrusted with the control and conduct of these industries, who will, with us, have regard, so far as legislative action is concerned, to the supreme factors making for enterprise, effort, and reward in any. Nor will that task be light. In undertakings where the empirical and traditional dominate, and with very much justification claim homage, it will be often difficult to see the facts with which we shall have to deal, even if we wish to see them; and still more difficult to get others to see them who may not desire to do so. Has land yet surrendered its potentiality or charm to its temporary owners; or materials their chemistry to commerce? Personal or traditional interest or bias gives indirect observation rather than direct, and direct observation usually yields the best targets. Many of the facts on which progress depends are not known; most of these facts certainly have yet to be discovered. Of those that are known, many are not yet sufficiently understood to make it possible to interpret their full significance to popular or to administrative assemblies.

It will need a very wide and yet intimate acquaintance with human wills and administrative methods generally, to concentrate present available knowledge, as students possess it, upon any legislative change demanded by agricultural or industrial combinations, or proposed in their behalf by the Legislature. But the available artillery of knowledge exists: that cannot be questioned. The armed and equipped gunners have long ago mobilised and debouched in column of march on all

the open highways. Surely an organisation which can deploy the batteries on new battlefields should not be beyond our fashioning. Science here is not as a relish. It is one of the needs of life. Practical politicians with this knowledge at their disposal must steadily pursue their special aims: if others profit by the aid we give, that is their business; what we give is our business. It is ours to let it be known that we can get at the available facts desired as to-day's knowledge places them; that, though these may not suffice for ultimate ends, they may be sufficient for any next step Parliament, or any agricultural or industrial group, is likely to be able to take or make. There are many cases, obviously, in which even simple questions as to consequences cannot yet be answered. Years of research were needed to trace Beri-Beri to polished rice. The victory of bracken over heather is a tragedy in many parts of Scotland. But how is bracken to be kept down? Muddling through is often excusable, is sometimes the best practicable wisdom, and, as has been already suggested, from revelation by error and vindication by use practical politicians look for potent aid. But this makes more, and not less, necessary, the ministry proposed: it is the informed scientific man who will be most likely to find the new path. It is ours also to see, if such a chance and the need come, that some of our facts are thrown like pebbles into the swiftly circling wheels of error, so that the machine may be temporarily pulled up and some time won for consultation. Being diamondiferous in character, the stone will take some crushing. If it comes to a fight, even that, in a free Empire like this, should give a sporting chance of

victory and the glory of the shock to those who cannot be bought, will not be bullied, and should not tactically be beaten—though how that would be managed is a detail which concerns battle-field generalship, and can only there be revealed.

Here, as elsewhere, co-operation with Government departments and the popularisation in constituencies of their best scientific work are both essential. Certainly the prospect in this regard seems very hopeful to-day. The recent action of the State in Agriculture and Industry has been most illuminating to all who have seen it or shared it—in what to avoid as much as in what to imitate. What the Empire can do when it faces the facts resolutely is now manifest; what it has to be on its guard against, the paralysis of individual function by costly office interests and sterile slavery, is no less patent. Through a Publicity Branch, through many existing channels by which provincial bodies can be reached directly, our workers should be able to assist Government department, permanent official, the much-harried reformer perplexed among obscurantists, and the ever-patient public which pays for all it gets and for more than it gets! Where the ends for which we move are not regarded or practised, there we should operate as a beneficent irritant: each session should, on matters of soil or stuff, afford opportunity to a race so swift at criticism as is ours, and so traditionally apt at missile-throwing.

Readers will realise that existing Legislatures in the Empire are organised primarily for Power; and of the exact and devastating chemistry of mere Power we are becoming painfully aware. They are not organised

for knowledge, not even for its use, much less for the application of progressive knowledge to the development of the Empire. And from this original and determining handicap, Legislatures cannot for centuries escape. Therein rests the challenge of Time to the practical statesman, to the scouts of good and of efficiency. Therein is our inestimable and memorable opportunity. Power of this type is incapable of right vision and, therefore, of superior action. Both are prerogatives of quite other attributes. What has been the type and content of the knowledge which has been the passport to Imperial and Dependency posts in the Empire? and how much has that had to do with the lands in which these officials have worked, or with the language, history, geography, and national ideals of the peoples whom they are paid to interpret to us? Why so much playing at our national tasks when they are so full of happy unattempted work?

It is common ground that accurate knowledge is being acquired and applied by those responsible for Agriculture and Industry. Particularly during the war have methods been revolutionised by responsible people working in both. Even to summarise what has been done here would transcend our limits. Chemistry is to-day the Harbinger of Dividends. The gunpowder of self-interest is quick enough to impel traders and landowners to profitable changes, and those who know the directing facts need only now and then touch a trigger. But is it realised by the electorate that the fields untilled exceed the fields tilled, even in such weather-worn industries as land and mechanical production? The

Earth is the oldest machine known to us, and is yet brutally misused and misunderstood. Is Chemistry the only science that can come to the aid of the manufacturer? What of the geographer, the geologist, the historian, the economist, the psychologist, the naturalist? Is it realised that the loss of some national industries of ours can be traced to the neglect of ascertained facts which some possessed at the time loss was risked, though no inquiry sought them and no propaganda published them? The seer's vision of disbelief, even though one went forth from Hades to tell the news, has been paralleled not once but a dozen times in the history of British agriculture and of British trade; yet the culprits at the time had, doubtless, quite strong views on the government of the Nation and drank most loyally to the King.

Without an ever alert and active assimilation of new truth and its focussing for instant action, progress of any general and effective type will in the future be far too slow for safety in a competitive world. And in one direction will constructors have to be especially open-eyed and vigorous. Professor R. A. Gregory, in his book "Discovery: the Spirit and Service of Science" (Macmillan and Co., 1916), gathers into twelve chapters the facts and influences which to-day exemplify the making and ministry of accurate knowledge. This volume seeks to apply some things there written; and to its ammunition campaigning readers are respectfully directed. Here we take a striking passage from Mr. Gregory's tenth chapter, to make clear one danger from which constructors may aid to preserve the electorate. His book is full of instances in which scientific

investigations carried on with the single motive of acquiring new knowledge have often led to results of great practical value. Then Mr. Gregory goes on: "Such applications are however only incidental, and in the world of science they provide no test of the importance of the work done. The practical man judges scientific research from the point of view of its direct service to humanity, or that of money-making capacity; and he considers that people who devote their lives to studies having neither of these profitable objects in mind are wasting their time and abusing their intellectual faculties. It comes as a surprise to most men to be told that, in scientific circles, usefulness is never adopted as the standard of value; and that even if not a single practical result is reached by an investigation, the work is worth doing if it enlarges knowledge or increases our outlook upon the universe. This proposition, of course, leaves the practical man cold; yet it is all that science desires to offer in justification of its activities. While the discovery of truth remains its single aim, science is free to pursue inquiries in whatever direction it pleases; but when it permits itself to be dominated by the spirit of productive application, it becomes merely the galley-slave of short-sighted commerce. Almost all the investigations upon which modern industry has been built would have been crushed at the outset if immediate practical values had determined what work should be undertaken. Science brings back new seeds from the regions it explores, and they seem to be nothing but trivial curiosities to the people who look for profit from research, yet from these seeds come the mighty trees under which civilised man has his tent, while

from the fruit he gains comfort and riches."

Is this too hard a lesson?

Must not practical politicians give the universe a chance to reveal something to them? Men have tried for thousands of years to interpret the universe by that which they themselves surmise, and have made a sorry business of it sometimes. The "House that Jack Built" has fallen in the mire. It is well to let the great Sleeping Partner take a hand in our education. From Research, endowed and sustained, Agriculture and Industry to-day have more to look for than from any other source whatsoever. Without it, they will be unable to reach the goal of even their mundane hopes; certainly, they will be unable to do their potential duty by their time.

Provincial as well as Metropolitan aiding groups must be assembled. The United Kingdom is specialised in soil and in the products won from it; in the minerals that reappear in manufactures; in the geographical and geological content of areas; in the traditional or inherited aptitude of workers. It is difficult to make effective the contact between the Legislature and the Constituencies without Provincial workers established in regional areas. Some such organisation is here suggested. Once the function is recognised, development may follow.

To this part of our work properly belongs the co-operation with labour, which will in agriculture, or in industry, make effective our faith in the duty of enterprise on the part of the participants, and in the justice of adequate reward. Witness must also be borne to the truth that the sustained effort through which all living units attain their ends, must be

reproduced in man, and by man, if he, too, is to attain. Nothing better than enterprise, as a duty and a deliverance, sets up growth; nothing better than persistent effort, wrought into a habit, reveals the right method; and what better than adequate reward confirms Growth? Those who have worked with the workers, served them, managed them, in philanthropic efforts or in positions of trust, who have learnt their difficulties and disabilities, know that however much workers have sometimes sinned, economically and productively, they have been sinned against systematically, by those who, whether through indifference, or ignorance, did much to make life difficult, disappointing, and sometimes even destructive. It is idle to hope that an end can be put to these frailties; even if the workers get all the power they promise themselves, they will probably be far from their goals. But some practical demonstrating witness must be borne to the idiocy of all such sinning, by whomsoever practised; some way out must be indicated when a way out is desired. In the atmosphere of studentship and discipleship to our obvious chances herein sought, both may come. The two great tendencies of our time are the scientific tendency and the democratic tendency: our thesis is that their respective developments, apart as they may seem, are essentially correlated.

CHAPTER VI.

RECONSTRUCTORS AND THE EMPIRE'S RESOURCES.

Most of the leisure of the men of every nation is spent in rounds of reiterated actions; if it could be spent in continuous advance along new lines of research in unexplored regions, vast progress would be sure to be made.—GALTON.

Those governments are the most flourishing and stable which have the fewest idle youths about the streets and theatres.—LANDOR (Diogenes and Plato Conv.).

Practical politicians in and out of Parliament should be acceptable allies to the contingents who are to-day concerned, in State Departments and outside them, in ascertaining and developing as opportunity offers the available material resources of the Empire. Able pens and powerful interests are here engaged, and it is not likely that there will be any failure of motive power for some years to come. There are elements of national safety even here which powerful interests might easily overlook, and there will be scope for watchfulness and need for prompt publicity everywhere. In this chapter brief mention has to be made of quite other resources of the Empire. Napoleon's dictum as to the relation between the moral and the physical forces in war is quoted ad nauseam, especially by those who show little apprehension of, or practical care for, the moral forces, and the human folk who manifest them. They will not have sufficient regard, that is, to the elements which determine morale; nor will they obey the plainest of prohibitions nor respond to the most biting of

incentives. Disease and death act decisively, whatever is done or omitted by man. Those who watch these tutors usually get the better tuition. Surely chief among the resources of the Empire are the human beings who are temporarily in possession of it and responsible for it. Surely, too, it is one of the foremost duties of the State to see that its future is not handicapped more than is unavoidable by the feckless stupidity which waits on ignorance, and that, so far as the State can aid such ends, healthy life is possible in healthy homes, young life is sheltered from unnecessary poisons, and adult life is accompanied by adequate reward for enterprise and at least a modicum of permitted leisure.

That very much has been done and can be done by State action is commonly agreed. There are responsibilities which must be shouldered by the community as a whole. Individuals cannot be responsible for the pranks of infective germs which attach themselves to chance-met strangers, and are born on the premises of some sanitary sinner against the common weal. Only the State can equip and hunt the pack that will get the better of infective pests. It is the duty of the State to keep Health hedges intact, and to make new ones where new ones are needed. It is the duty of the State to declare war on Dirt and Disease, for it alone possesses the power and the right to exact obedience to health's behests. What has been done in Panama against the fevers which have filled immeasurable cemeteries, what has been done in India and Africa under the goading of pioneer scientific research, can be done in other parts of the Empire against similar foes, the malignant and, we are

told, the increasing armies of the microbic enemies of Man. An electorate which sees these risks will ask for such insurance against them as is possible. When the Empire emerges from a struggle in which it has had to mobilise resources world-wide in their scope, it will have to face other forces which have also mobilised planetary resources against Man. We are told by students that in the fight against the microbe, now being waged only by skirmishers on man's side, it is not at all certain Man is going to come out final victor. He has mastered larger enemies on land and sea, and in the air: he has yet to win against the Protean and persistent foes of whose existence he has only lately become aware, and against which much of the formal strategy and tactics of his past may prove futile.

It is estimated that nine-tenths of the work of the doctors of all ranks is trying to remedy and cure easily preventable disease. Wages, housing, health, child-welfare, leisure, importunately knock at our doors. We have covered the land with palliatives: lunatic asylums, sanatoria, prisons, reformatories, inebriates' homes, retreats. We have endowed unemployment, malingering, sickness, unthrift, and crime, not always intentionally, but ordinarily—as was the case with the Insurance Act—because we were in too great a hurry to do something to learn how to do anything rightly, and often because in any State action the guilty alike with the guiltless have to be helped.

It will long be impossible to get the Legislature, in the palliative matters of this type it generally affects, to withhold its legislative hand from matters that it

does not understand; but in all discussions precedent to Bills and incident to their passing, a knowledge group should be swift in service of great contributory value. Adequate inquiry pressed from quarters which could not be gainsaid—whether these existed we do not aver—would have made impossible some of the wild mis-statements of the Insurance Act propaganda; and steady insistence on the definition of the exact objective, and scrutiny as to how that was to be attained by the clauses before the House, would have saved this country millions of money, and a great many worthy folk up and down the country a wilderness of wasted hours given to administration made farcical by the State itself. Only a Pyramid of Punch could do justice to the toil of administrators obeying the orders of Administrative Departments of State. By the way, will not constructors make an Administrative "Punch" a propagandist pleasure? Ours has been said to be, by not a bad judge, the most individual race the world has ever seen; it does not want spoon-feeding. It wants to have the chance given it to win its own way to sanity, to health, and fertile leisure, and not to be more heavily penalised by clumsy interference than is really necessary for the upbringing of the wholly helpless. Wages have more to do with housing than have bye-laws; and if cottages could be built by those who would build for those who could pay, birth-rates would go up.

Accepting frankly, with these reservations, the palliative action of the State, can we invite the electorate to call for a courageous State campaign in Prevention: the first should not inhibit the second. And it is here that constructors will find their opportunities.

We possess, or we can possess, the directions Nature herself has given us for our ongoing: ours it is to see that these get a hearing. When some wise Government administrator launches his lucid remedy in an overlooked Blue Book, we may help to make it the common property of the Nation which pays him, and for which he labours. When some Department, obstructed in Parliament in a timely application of a decision to which a State Commission has brought many, still waits for public opinion to fill the sails, we should step in to do what we can to help. We should give a platform to every pioneer of better days and better ways who has found some pathway out of the detestable marshes of failure, futility, and avoidable death, which trouble the wisest as the most foolish. When we know as much about human origins and types, the certain conditions in which health delights, and the assured ditches of death, as we do about the cabbages and potatoes we cultivate, we may then learn that much the same laws obtain in the growth of each, and we shall look to our State Departments to take the field on our behalf against our most open as our most secret foes. Only State funds, or assured freedom from anxiety to get a living and bring up a family, can make it possible for some of the best brains Nature sends, to aid us. We endow many things and many men given up to pursuits which will not affect the right use of one hour.

Nor is the time for this campaign other than propitious. When has the State, in preventive medicine, learnt more, attempted more, and wrought more than in the Great War? Three decades of experience have been crowded into forty months: daring attacks

and flank movements. Are these to be wasted? Assuredly not. Whatever happens to some improvised departments, their won and hoarded experience should be available for the push in the next great war for sufficient wages, for health, sanity, healthy towns, and adequate leisure.

As will be understood, mention of particular or of possible legislative proposals already called for, promised, or needed, has been intentionally withheld. That is neither necessary here nor would it be prudent. It is not necessary because any such enumeration must assume the form and precision of a programme, and a programme is barred by the matter and the method of this book. It would quintuple its size; it would blur its message. Responsibility for legislative proposals attaches in the first place to legislators, and not to outsiders, and it is hugely inconvenient and hampering, here as elsewhere, for people to neglect responsibility which is theirs, and then to assume, and interfere with, responsibilities belonging to others. This ends generally in evasion of duty by those who should do it; and in its muddling by those who meddle. Practical politicians are asked to learn and to mind their own business first; then to see that others act similarly. They are not governing the country yet; and can best help by understanding how it is governed and aiding those who govern. "Aiding" does not inhibit initiative! Again, it would not be prudent to set forth such a programme. Those really interested in the public welfare cannot always announce, in a country of usually clever and sometimes cunning men, the exact routes they propose to take to their goals. There is a serious and continuing campaign to be undertaken here; not

a "demonstration" to be organised. Good and Intelligence should have their strategy and tactics as well as prejudice, chartered stolidity, and evil.

PART II.

The Development of the Reconstructor.

CHAPTER VII.

PERSPECTIVE IN PARTISAN POLITICS.

A political club can have no durable leader: there must be one for each passion.—NAPOLEON.

To govern by a party is sooner or later to put oneself in its power.—NAPOLEON.

Being in company with Addison, Steele, Secretary Craggs, and Sir Robert Walpole, they engaged in a dispute, whether a secretary of state could be an honest man. Whiston, being silent, was asked his opinion, and said, "he thought honesty was the best policy, and if a minister could practise it, he would find it so." To which Craggs replied, "It might do for a fortnight, but would not do for a month." Whiston demanded "If he had ever tried it for a fortnight." To which he, making no answer, the company gave it for Whiston.—WHISTON'S SON.

We pass from the co-operation which organised progressive knowledge is in a position to offer the State and other bodies, to the service due to, and from, the electorate which creates and maintains the State. Is it not clear that, from a national application of the best available knowledge the State Executive is debarred? It may make some use of it within the scope of its own opportunities. It cannot, save in a Slave State, impose its use on the Nation as a whole, nor can it induce its full use by this Nation within the restricted ambit of State power. That is the prerogative of the individuals who comprise the Nation, so long as ours remains a free race. It is of their voluntary acceptance of national duty, their realisation of their own power, we have now to treat. On the mentality of the electorate the "security and development of the Empire" must in the last resort depend. Knowledge

of the facts, willingness to learn fresh facts, the right selection of objectives, punctual performance of the duty of the moment, determine democratic efficiency to-day and regeneration to-morrow.

1.—Concern should first be had to the chief administrative political need of the day: the better education of all grown-up men and women who now possess power, from the casual worker to the peer of the realm.

2.—Government by party should be made more useful than it is, by illustrating to the electorate the risks of such an adulterated activity; and by developing perspective in regard to it and the political careers it encourages.

3.—Politics being the science of the use of power, the progress of any politician, or of any group of politicians, is to be tested mainly by the use made by either, of power already possessed.

This chapter deals with the first two.

1.—If there is one State or individual activity more canvassed or canvassable to-day than another, it is the compulsion that adults and the State exercise over young life: the children and youth of the Nation. "Education" to-day inevitably connotes the habits and the ideas which grown-up people wish to impose on children and youths, or pay other people to try to impose on them, this being the accepted and traditional method by which living Generations hope to make coming Generations better than themselves: the word "hope" will suggest the inevitable connection with human credulity. It is not intended here to discount in any way the significance of constructive proposals to be applied by those who have grown-up, to young people dependent upon their intro-

ducers and instructors for food, shelter, clothing, and upbringing, and possibly therefore not equipped to exercise active partnership control over diction or doses. Of passive partnership or "resistance" is there not an abounding plenteousness? Education in this restricted sense is left to other pens, and to the publishers, professions, and exponents deeply concerned with its upkeep; it is never likely to lack champions. Has it not a Government Department to itself?

What is here suggested is that the chief administrative need of to-day is not so much the instruction of children and young men and women, as the education of workers and administrators, the real civilisation of the comfortable and of the wage-earning classes. Education in this sense takes the amplitude of a national duty applicable to all, which is exactly what is implicit in Practical Politics.

It is the "grown-ups" who father or mother the children, decide for them, and present them with, many of the avoidable handicaps which mar and maim. It is the grown-ups who, usually from neglect of the known or the knowable, fail to win from the human beings they bring into life the response which they confidently look for from the vegetables in their gardens, though the human material is incalculably more attentive and adaptable. We—to get out of an indictment form it is no pleasure to use—do not often care to learn the methods, open to us, by which we may "breed out" of our descendants the hereditary taint due to the primeval barbarism of the race, maintained as it has since been by many influences. The nurture and the admonition of the

laws of health and of right living are far from our search, though on these depend our prospect of a nation of "vigorous self-reliant men, knit to one another by innumerable ties, into a strong and elastic organisation." Adults run our homes, our institutions, our educational and religious activities, our political parties, our clubs, our villages, towns, and counties. Power therein is wholly ours so far as power exists. On us the responsibility rests; there is no gainsaying it, though no student would wish to urge that responsibility beyond a legitimate range. It suffices that we have the power, all the power there is, that the use of that power is our best school, and that on this use, rather than on polemics we play with, the destinies of the coming generations pivot. Although it is part of an honest man, says Aristotle, not to search for greater certainty than the thing will permit, surely we shall find sufficient certainty here to go to bed by: the simile is pertinent. Because we cannot do everything, that is no reason why we should omit that which we can do, or shirk the duty of learning to do it better. Professional teachers are in no doubt as to the real obstacles in the path of progressive knowledge: which is the more stubborn, the parent or the educational administrator, they would find it difficult sometimes to decide. In any event the child is not an enemy: he may be an obstacle. It is the grown-up who snipes, rather than supports, the school. Those who, up and down the country, wish now to put their knowledge at the service of the communities wherein they reside, are in no uncertainty as to the identity of their chief opponents. The rank and the file of the electorate,

the lower middle classes and the working classes, sit entrenched across the path of progress. In the main they can only be served by concealing the service; they are quite happy in their present preoccupations, and only positive discomfort of some sort will move them. Yet reform must come through them. If a business is doing badly, we do not first examine the worksheets of the apprentices; and if fraud inhabits the "commercial office" we do not dismiss the errand boy. Those who have studied the tooling of Nature in successive generations of man, enthrone clean-living, straight-thinking, punctual performance of duty, enterprise in control of the forces within and without us, as vital to efficiency in any one generation that has to breed the next. Each generation most obviously receives from its predecessor a heritage which it did nothing to earn. Unless it be currish and ingrate, it will wish to leave that heritage no worse. Perhaps one day a generation of minds will recognise the obligation to make the race better for its turn at driving, as we know it can. Knowledge shows the way. Experience marks the route with milestones. Will not some of us be to-day's guides?

2.—Neither this generation nor the next is likely to take the parties of the old type seriously. War and its revelation of national error have depolarised some phrases and incinerated some refuse. The party man and the party chief will long be reminded of the pain which we have had to suffer, the price we had to pay, for their neglect adequately to insure against the failure of their own policy. That is ever a bad omission for fallible folk to make, and war has convicted political parties of it, as it convicted the

John Popes, the King Josephs, and the Brunswicks, of blindness to strategical risks which was attributable to the same fault. There are some diplomatic documents which will confound British party prophets for a few decades. A huge debt will teach the race the folly of playing at politics in place of learning them, of governing countries, or of allying ourselves with them and sharing their risks, before their origins or their races have been even superficially studied.

Knowledge has been said to be the soul and form of politics. What is the soul and form of partisan politics? Surely not knowledge. The voting machine has many virtues: its output keeps the country mobile and makes places and peers—and a few men. If it was intended to shut out Ignorance, Impudence, or Fraud, it must be admitted that it has proved a poor sort of sieve. There may be nothing better for a foundation; but let us see where that foundation begins and ends, for bogs are hereabouts. Voters are very far yet from selecting their Parliamentary candidates: candidature depends, like courtship, upon propinquity, money, age, and property, and the less said about knowledge on either side the more easy the agent finds the preliminaries. Even in delegated candidature, where organised bodies choose leaders, routine and the order of the truck in the train largely promote the emerging man. The raison d'etre of the representative system is that it represents, or should do, all types of character and all orders of brain. Man's vestigial organs are biologically significant and illuminating, and we have their exact counter-parts in the frame and functions

of our constitutional organisations. Ordinarily, the great interests take in charge the representation of the people. It is not their business to know how to govern a nation, nor are they prone to learn. They are more solicitous that the nation should not govern them, and that they should share the legitimate fruits of power and chances to use—or abuse—them. According as the Party of Progress or the Party of Order seems to promise the better investment, so do some interests shift from side to side. The process is illustrated at any General Election, and knowledge and veracity have not often been accused of too intimate connection therewith. Man has never yet achieved high rank in the logistics of Truth: and no reputations are imperilled when we admit that. The exhibition propagandist, critical and emotional, which we get at a General Election, is sporting, reminiscent of ancestral hunting, and not a little funny.

It will one day seem odd that partisan politics should ever have been allowed to dominate the lives and leisure of otherwise judicious thinkers. Passions have more to do with the movement of votes than has judgment—and who argues with passion? Instinct sways more than reason—and who quarrels with instinct? Tradition weighs heavier than initiative, and "you have to dig deep to bury your daddy."

Against none of these will constructors tilt: enough if they put them on an occasional film. They may point out, for instance, the disappointment and discouragement we bring upon ourselves and our descendants by our disregard of the super-tax that has always to be paid for concerted effort above the price we have to pay when we use individual effort. The illusion

that there is some magic of wisdom in numbers which does not reside in one person, some mysterious efficiency in a crowd or in what a crowd thinks—however educated or drilled it may be—which is not in one, dies hard. We hear what we think we vote for. But do we realise the chain of acts between the vote and its result, and as a consequence the exact Time value and worth-content of the vote? National decisions are generally given on a variety of issues, more or less mixed and all highly complex, which it is impossible to state correctly to any constituency. Nor, if they were so stated, is there a possibility of any one issue being identically conceived or understood by all. Man proposes, but the Universe disposes. Each man sees his own world. A political leader has to appeal at once to the largest number of assentors, and his statements have to be understandable by the most backward. They have to be phrased with extreme simplicity: one might say, stupidity. National assent to a group of measures must, like a Roman bridge, find its base in wide spreading foundations of stupidity animated by instinct. An Act of Parliament can be little other than the high-water mark of average stupidity, wiser than could be expected of the source from which it comes, but much inferior to the best available thought, and years below the best practice, of the best men of the time.

It is strange that the manifest irrationality of the very valuable representative device, should not of itself guard the electorate against imputing fetish-force to it. Is it really possible for any man to represent any other man? Indeed, in how many instances can men or

women adequately represent themselves?

To know how best to govern a country involves previous study of its physical, economical, and moral conditions, demands a knowledge of the external circumstances which affect its inhabitants, as of the internal economy which is the result of the play of their passions and their wills. Thus it is well to know of any country the subject of our discussion, its climate, its surface levels, the proportions of its woodland and arable and pasture land, all of which influence the habits of the people. It is desirable to know its soils and their possibilities, its harbours, minerals, and sea and land crops, to be thoroughly acquainted with its allies and enemies, its roads, waterways, and railways, and their effect on commerce, industry, and labour. Its markets, home and foreign, its legal and banking systems, its chief industries and their origins and potentialities must be studied. We must know, too, whence the race came, of what families it is compacted, must understand why the nation accepts certain theological systems and rejects others, why it adopts certain modes of thought and ostracises others, why its women follow the fashions and are true to its faithless men, and its men preach, smoke, write, drink, acquire, love, hate, lie, and gamble.

Finally, assuming this knowledge has been pondered, we have yet the most difficult task to essay. Politicians seek to govern men. They must, therefore, be able to govern themselves, and thus to be able to know men. How many of us know the man or woman we have spent half a lifetime with? And if we know not them, how can we know others whom we

have never seen? There are many politicians to-day no doubt; is it possible that they are not politicians?

Within our lifetime science has changed the interpretation of that past from which we draw instruction and guidance. Every year some current political issue assumes a different aspect as fresh facts emerge. We are beginning to follow round the world, not our priests and our kings and our pet political theories, but our wheat, our live-stock, our medicinal plants, our sports, our methods of soil cultivation, our microbic foes; these last have decided, and may again decide, the failure and the death of Empires.

To sum up: practical politicians need not do anything to displace or to annul the partisan political creed of any member of any existing political party. They will prefer men and women to remain in the mental or occupational worlds that have been decided for them, or chosen by them. Men work best in familiar conditions, and it is very important that friction in things that do not matter very much should be avoided where real work has to be done. They will accept loyally the decisions arrived at from time to time in General Elections, not because these are likely to be either wise or true, but because some decisions are imperative, and, as these will be usually of the next step variety, and will be decided more often by instinct than by reason, they will probably be as affirmative and safe as any that are possible in the known conditions. We have high authority for the statement that "wayfaring men, though fools" shall not always err. This will make it easy for practical politicians to belong to these parties themselves, as they must, to work with them and through them, while

at the same time they will be on their guard, knowing the game, against attaching too much importance to the unimportant, and thus neglecting their own inimitable chances of learning their own business and minding it. They will themselves only spend five hours in deciding what to do in the five minutes they enjoy in a polling booth—when they go. And they will not spend half the evenings of the year discussing things they are not doing with people who could not do them if they were given the task. If their opinion is asked, it may well be given quickly, so that each may go about his own business and attend to the machinery that will ensure this being done extremely well. In short, constructors will encourage better perspective in an adulterated activity.

CHAPTER VIII.

FUNCTION IN THE USE OF POWER.

Let us not forget, when we emulate Germany's efficiency, that the supreme interest of the State is to train its citizens to that right judgment in all things which alone can save a nation from moral and intellectual disaster when it is called upon to face the responsibilities of power.—PROF. W. G. DE BURGH: *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1917.

Riches are almost always abused without a very extraordinary grace. — BISHOP WILSON, quoted in "Culture and Anarchy" (Matthew Arnold), page 135.

> More Men? More Man! It's there we fail:
> Weak plans grow weaker yit by lengthenin';
> Wut use in addin' to the tail
> When it's the head's in need o' strengthenin'?
>
> LOWELL.

We arrive at the third point mentioned on page 64, and consider the use of power. Constructors must necessarily have greater regard to the use of power than to those who are power's actual possessors. In any year there are numerous claimants to be "the dominant power in the State": in that galley we must not trouble to row. Now the claim is occupational, as when one Chairman of the Labour Party said that "the first item of the Labour programme was to make the Labour Party the dominant, the directing, and the controlling power in the State." Other occupational interests have used much the same rhetoric. Then it is economic, as when the financial interests move glacially. We need not antagonise any of these. It is only required to recognise them; and, perhaps, to adopt Mr. Roosevelt's tactic, to "speak politely

and carry a big stick." The real point is that, as constructors, we need not care very much what folk make themselves, or call themselves, at any time the dominant power in the State. They will not get there easily, and whenever they do get there, they will be hugely uncomfortable. The struggle for power does not concern constructors; they study the quality of power, and are alert as to its right use.

Experience has shown that at most times and in most places those who possess power have generally been unequal to their tasks, have often made a very unsatisfactory use of power, and have had to be fought by the nation's best sons. The history of civilisation up to 1917 is the history of power in unfit hands. Not because men who have power are often any worse than those who have it not, but because, as yet, from the best use of power man is barred by ignorance, and by his governing passions. While power is sometimes educating in the individual, it is a lure too dire for a class. The world never yet has seen a body of men with class interests and instincts — Pagan or Christian — who can safely be trusted with power. It is from mere acts of power divorced from justice that all the great crimes of history have sprung. The right use of power is so difficult, so little studied, so rarely learnt, that those who possess power are bound, in the present prevailing ignorance, to abuse it almost as often as they use it. Only the operative caution which makes the "next step" clear, keeps the best users on the path. Even when dominant classes possess knowledge of the wise use of power, there is not often the will to use it aright; power itself has degrading tendencies. It is

the most subtle of the temptations and the most powerful of the poisons. No man is tested until he is in a position to do what he likes, when he likes, and as he likes, and it is usually then that the characteristics of the fox, the monkey, the hyena, and the tiger re-emerge.

Constructors, then, are not concerned so much with actual holders of power, as with the use made of power by those who hold it. If those who hold power have proved unable sometimes to discharge its responsibilities, we shall not necessarily transfer our allegiance and aid to some other people who have not power but want it very badly, just in the hope that they too in their turn, though perhaps much worse equipped, will escape the fault that has proved fatal to others. The programme of any party or group clamorous for power, leaves the practical statesman tranquil: he knows the business too well to be drawn from the trail which he means to follow. He concentrates his attention on the right use of power where its use can be tested and corrected, for he perceives that progress has usually been the fruit of power, or gift, well used, and of duty done. Also, does he see that little good can be expected from one man fighting another for power which both may misuse. Why should the one man get that which he blames the other man for having? Rather does the practical statesman discern, that the man who has power, can be better compelled to do what is right by his power, if he is vigilantly watched by one who already has done his duty by his own power.

This brings us to the Function of the constructor, the "Unit of Power"; and to the study of Function.

To-day we have to reorganise a nation at peril of defeat, economic if not military, by racial types who may use a quite different form of gregarious organisation against us; and it is essential, therefore, that we confront them as practised performers ready to meet their best, not as amateur experimenters. Biologically, to "organise" means to furnish with organs harmoniously co-operant and adapted to the essential conditions of life; to integrate while differentiating; to develop progressively as an organism. And this biological sense of the word may well be emphasised when each is surrounded by "organisations" in private and business routine, in philanthropic pursuit or pastime, which will never be suspected of any such "content." As practical politicians it is especially necessary to be possessed of our biological meaning, for by it we must test our use of the powers we possess, en route to the goal of national duty. The nature and range of the construction possible will then become much clearer to us; its conditions, risks, and probable achievement will be apparent; we shall see easier where our personal initiative begins and ends, where corporate initiative begins and ends, where, too, the administrative action of the State to ensure simultaneity is indispensable. It is safe to say that in most of these preliminaries to a right appreciation of facts, and to their successful use, many of us have nearly everything to learn. In knowledge, scientific practice, and rational initiative in government, the race is as notoriously deficient, as it is efficient in its aptitude for improvisation and rising to a great occasion.

A general knowledge paper in matters that concern most of those who have in the past elected or consti-

tuted the local governing bodies of our towns, counties, and countries, may illustrate the purpose of this chapter, and clinch its appeal. Readers can add other questions to these, and perhaps put some of their own fashioning to themselves. True: it is easy to ask questions which none can answer; that is not the aim here. These questions, however unpleasant they may seem to some, are asked in the interest of truth and lucidity, as also in the interest of necessary brevity, and to bring home to each of us our own possible participation in national progress and national politics. The obstacles which exist are suggested intentionally, that we may turn them to opportunities and thus earn the waiting revelation.

Will Members of Parliament, having first found out themselves, tell their constituents the extent and the nature of the control they exercise over national expenditure, and what influence they possess, or ever exercise, in national administration? If "None" has to be written in these columns, will they explain to their constituents what they do, and why they do it?

Why do not the Permanent Institutions of the Country hold annual Policy Conferences, charged with the task of keeping these institutions responsive to the needs of every generation, so that henceforth an institution may occasionally be reformed from within by friends, rather than from without by opponents?

Will our Churches (clergy and laity) explain satisfactorily to themselves (1) what it is they are accomplishing to-day in national construction with the sacred buildings, the traditions, and the opportunities they stand possessed of; (2) explain to others why some of their teachers know so little,

and teach so little, of the ascertained fresh scientific knowledge as to the origin and possibilities of the men and women out of whom all churches have to be edified in each generation? There has been a remarkable development in the unmoral powers available to Man. Have the ethical institutions, whose duty it is to help Man to use these, or to discourage his abuse of them, developed proportionately to the need? Rather, are they not decades behind the need?

Will the professions that levy fixed fees for service, and exact maximum fees when they can get them, exact reasonable efficiency from all members, and compensate the victims of deliberate neglect or culpable ignorance?

In how many private businesses to-day, managed by their owners, or by people appointed by and directly responsible to their owners, is the "till" the only debtor and creditor account kept? How many thieves have been seeded and harvested thereby, and how many millions have been lost to the community by traders who have failed, or have made arrangements with their creditors? What would be the number of bankruptcies and liquidations if it was penal to trade without periodical accountancy? How many of the culprits held strong views on national finance; if they did, do they now see what unpractical politicians they were?

Will the Provident Orders tell themselves the exact number of local branches, electing their own officers and managing their own local finances, which are virgin in the sense that they have not been robbed by their own officers?

Will the Directors of Companies call to mind the

defalcations of servants, brought about, not so much by subtle scheming on the servant's part, as by directorial ignorance of, or inattention to, the business of direction? Will a reference to the records of H.M. Prisons be of any service here?

What does the Charity Organisation Society's record reveal of misappropriated funds and of the spoliation of the well-to-do ignorant? Will the philanthropic workers in big towns—in the Metropolis, for instance — tell us the number of inefficients they have annually endowed? It has been said, with some truth, that it is almost impossible to administer honestly any charity in London: the ways of cadgers are so diversified, it is so difficult to trace them from haunt to haunt, and the Father of Lies has so many filial folk. In this regard London stands, as it were, as a "wen" apart. Victims can be there created without check, and nowhere is it easier to make a show of philanthropic fussiness do duty for fruiting faith.

In how many industries in the provinces do those who conduct them—

(1) Meet to become aware of, and to discuss, functional trade developments made necessary by radical external variations in practice?

(2) Sit in conference with the employed men through whose co-operation alone their trade developments can mature?

How many committees of public bodies act under intelligent, or intelligible, terms of reference and delegation from their originating bodies? and in how many cases is regard had to the necessary distinction between "control" and "administration?" Who

will examine, in the definition and application of these terms, members of Education Committees of Counties and County Boroughs?

Of what value is any opinion on educational policy or administration held by members of Education Committees who either detest education or are indifferent to it? How can the expenditure of public money on education be wisely entrusted to such men? What is the record of the Selection Committees of the County Councils of England in this matter?

How many School "Governors" govern the schools in their charge, or know how to govern them?

In how many popularly-elected governing bodies does the professional expert employed control the Council; and is that good for the expert? In how many cases does the Council control the expert; and is that good for the Council?

Is there any working hypothesis applicable to the following? If not, why not?

(1) What is the true objective in the education of girls?

(2) What should be the real objective in the making of a successful school?

(3) What is the office and function of a chairman of a public-money-spending body? Is he the exponent and depositary of committee policy, or a policeman out of uniform keeping external order, and letting policy take care of itself?

In how many churches—this surely is a non-political question which all readers can ponder — are the routine duties of the congregation, the office-bearers, and the ministrants, promoting the biological growth which we are seeking? Yet is there any country in the

world richer than our own in sacred poem, anthem, tune, continuous historic tradition of site, building, ritual or its absence, and reserves of available learning, the storied treasures of great memories and great triumphs? English religious freedom has favoured hymnal development, and augmented the variety and the richness of the companioning music. In worship the work of the week still should happily focus; there, surely, our work stands to be tested. There do we follow our own foibles and preferences, and exercise choices most personal to ourselves. By their use, then, we are to be judged. Appraised by any high or attainable standard, what can be said of our share in the work, vocal, penitential, expository, auditory? This question is pressed because it is non-party, non-sectarian, and most pertinent to the thesis. It is usually easy, after a service is over, to mark the participants who have done their duty inside their church on any Sunday morning. Those who have put something of their own into the service have generally got something out; those who have withheld their own contribution (and all can make some) have come "empty away." The process is patented. Ordinarily, we can only expect out of life what we put into it: a little less sometimes, because energy has to run the machine. Fortunately, from us is hidden the greatness of our own contribution when this is loyally made, and hence we are often surprised by the volume that is returned to us. If we knew more, we should be able to weigh the constituents perhaps; but thought is not yet ponderable! If obstacles confront us in an activity so vital to our personal peace and weekly war, are they

going to conquer us, or shall we not conquer them, and learn something worth knowing about this wonderful matter of government? Indeed, can our churches be constructed for every generation—as they should be—on any other method than that which stands true in the biological world, and is certainly demonstrable on the plane of thought.

Will parents sometimes ask themselves whether they are not poisoning the wells of life for their children by the manner in which they speak of others, and behave between themselves, in the home?

Finally: how, in the interests of growing boys and girls, can we diminish the number of disappointed, disillusioned, and often rather ugly old men and women who cumber our streets and homes, giving life so poor an advertisement and darkening with clouds so many of the horizons of the young?

These questions arise from the practical experience of one human observer; facts which can be attested, justify each.

In all these cases, the principals have for years contributed the rank and file, often the leaders, of our political parties in parochial, provincial, and city areas. They have held, expressed, and acted upon, opinions on issues of a national type far removed from their personal knowledge, or the exercise of the personal functions they might have practised at home. They have been loyal subscribing members of political societies, spent one, perhaps three, evenings a week chatting over distant strategies with persons of equal dexterity, and coming to conclusions about the destinies of people they have never met, and could not talk to if they did meet them. They have assembled in periodical

conferences and passed resolutions which have either filled the wastepaper baskets of Cabinet Ministers or been used as cards in a transitory "hand" in the House. It is not suggested that they should dispense with any of these political pre-occupations or amusements. It is quite an amusement to watch them and to write about them here — in good humour, too. All are essential to the growth of a nation which, like the individual organism, is sometimes prone to psychological indigestion, and has to get rid of its products. (When we do not know what we want, does it very much matter what we get?) All that is suggested, out of respect for the humour and habit of wondering man, is that it is essential to add to these pastimes the performance of preliminary duty, so that pastime may be transmuted to useful service within the unit, and, through the unit, to the body politic. If we cannot do the work that lies at hand, pleading for a new form and a new voice, how on any imaginable working hypothesis can we hope to become skilful in the use of power more distant, perhaps as yet undiscovered?

It is unreasonable to assume that the folk of our towns, or its counties, are making the best use of their present chances, or doing their duty by their own communities. They are not. There is often little ambition to learn the best, or even to follow the better. Still, there are many persons who seek to do both. There are thousands of active men and women who give their lives to the good works which keep our national life sane and sweet, so far as it is either; there are institutional activities with which constructors will always find it easy

to co-operate, for they are constructing to-day as well as they know how. And in the special objectives we possess as constructors, in the wide-angle lens we use, tactical advantages are ours which we must and can use. We can get the facts faced sometimes; the exact local objective stated; the conditions ascertained and followed on which Nature probably allows a solution. All things that exist, suggest thought before they came into being. Why not begin with thought in our campaigns, the best new thought and not the worst old one, the thought, too, that seeks the end itself first and not some personal, class, or partisan need?

There are town councillors who live and die without realising the regional conditions—geographical, industrial, social, political—out of which their towns sprang: their human instincts just suffice for battling, their class interests for schooling. There are County Councils which have not yet grappled with some of their most important public responsibilities as one body with a corporate policy: fission is there always, and it is generally geographical and "representative." The members represent geographical areas, and it is a tug of war between areas. Government by committee abounds in humour; in the hands of popularly elected councils it is often an evergreen comedy. Sometimes it is so tragical that silence is the only sedative.

The attribution of power to mechanical method is the chief source of failure; and that arises from inability to grip our own power. The articles of the delusionary creed are known: there is something occult in the decision of a committee, some

greater wisdom than that which resides in any one member of it. Is not this flat heresy? Not that committee is always "a noun of multitude which signifies many but does not signify much"; but that any decision arrived at, and understood, by twelve people, must usually be below the level of the ablest minds of the twelve, which the others might probably have had for the asking. Union, again, still connotes strength. Has any proverb been responsible for more error? It quite as often connotes weakness; and when the power of a union is vested in what is called a "representative," as for convenience it must be, union often spells a weakness disastrous to the represented group. It may be beheaded at one blow by a man abler than its chosen. There were never so many representative groups in our towns and counties as there are to-day, groups acting in the interests of sects, industries, and professions. These are sure to increase, for they are necessary. Everywhere, then, we have men, officers of these groups, who by reason of their office claim a power they would not think of claiming as individuals. "I represent 40,000 of" this, that, or the other, is one of the missiles thrown at administrators, or at private persons who are for the moment brought into contact with the organisations represented. It is highly necessary sometimes that this usurped power should be challenged, and reduced to its legitimate and appropriate exercise. It does not really exist, and should not be allowed more power than belongs to it as a handy and adaptable fiction. It lets down most of those who manœuvre with it; and betrays many who create masters through its usurpations. There is less danger from it if the true

danger is seen.

It is certain that difficulties they do not now appreciate, will confront aspirants to practical politics of the type here suggested. Some will sit down acquiescent in powerlessness over things given them to do, still preferring to exert the assumed power, which custom has made so familiar, in party issues where its exercise is mainly imaginative and their personal responsibility can be assumed or doffed at will. Still, it is the duty of the constructor to take himself, and to urge others to take, the footpath way, and to work with the allies who are mobilisable. It is ours to insist, always and everywhere, and to use our every task to enforce our plea, that to do things that are worth doing is difficult, and that it is because difficulties are not recognised, studied, and mastered, that efficient action, personal, corporate, or national, is to-day's exception rather than its rule. In service control and business and public life, slovenly thought and action, and a loose and a low standard of knowledge and of aim, are tolerated and general.

No student of the use of power expects anything else than difficulty and frequent failure. This neither depresses nor daunts. It immensely stimulates. The strategical and tactical objective here is the recognition of essential difficulty, so that problems may be faced with the seriousness of soldiers confronting a seemingly impregnable position. If we think a problem easy which is in itself far more difficult than it has entered into our minds to conceive, are we likely to persevere to a solution; shall we not stop when some untoward rebuff tumbles the tower of our self-confidence to the dust? If we know

that it must be difficult, and approach it with the extreme care of a chemist at a laboratory analysis, is it not more likely that we shall see, from point to point in the darkness, where safely to put each painful foot, consolidating each gained trench as we advance into No Man's Land against Ignorance and Incompetence. What we know is not momentous; how we use that which we know is. The final issues can be left; they are not our business; enough for us the task and the glory of our day.

We learn the use of Power through Function; but we must first get to grips with the Function.

CHAPTER IX.

THE TACTICAL METHOD OF THE CAMPAIGN.

Bear in mind the object is to drive the enemy south; and to do this you want to keep him always in sight. Be guided in your conduct by the course he takes.—GENERAL GRANT to SHERIDAN, August 5, 1864: "Sheridan Memoirs," I., p. 465.

In this and the next chapter an effort is made to describe the method by which the purposes set out can be attempted. What is true of the campaigns of any great generals should be true, also, of ours. Given the right type of organisation at the outset, and competent leadership applying an adequate policy, tactical details are decided as circumstances permit. Napoleon, Wellington, Moltke, for instance, made it their business to be possessed of as many as possible of the factors that gave mobility in war theatres; they were richly equipped in the resources of their art; and they were of a fearless and independent mental mould. They so dealt with the problems of movement and contact, that they were usually able to establish fighting touch with most of the chances of success in their favour. Fighting touch once established, their actual tactics on the battlefield met and used the hundred circumstances of the day. "What are your plans?" asked Lord Uxbridge, the Second-in-Command, of Lord Wellington, as Waterloo began. "Plans! I have no plans. I shall be guided by circumstances." Yet, months earlier, Wellington had selected that position to answer the problem Fate put to him in June, 1815.

Here, also, the policy once gripped, the circumstances of the day will produce the plan. Ought not Knowledge to have its policy and its exhilarating touch; its judicious "assembly," and its pungent "attack?"

What, then, is the "right type of organisation" assumed to be necessary to attempt the agreed policy? Can we get a glimpse of the tactics it will make possible?

It is an administrative nucleus of scientific men, administrators, political students, and statesmen, in close touch with all departments of national research, public or private, and able to obtain the best available accurate information upon any administrative project which becomes vital in any year; resolute, also, to use this fearlessly and with devotion to the service of the country. These conditions imply united action between the possessors of knowledge, special and technical, and politicians and administrators who use it, or ought to be got to use it, in national or provincial enterprises. There are many living to-day who know and use. But, ordinarily, these persons are in two different camps, and are likely so to remain. They differ widely in outlook and in function, and the divergencies will not grow less with the fuller specialization which is inevitable with national development.

No sympathy must be assumed with the view that there is something in a scientific training, as popularly understood, which prevents a man from being a good administrator. In any sphere, close contact with the facts of life, interpreted by the human imagination and will, and tested by experience, will rarely unfit a man

for any human activity open to administrators, will often fit him superbly for them. There is not much construction to be hoped for unless an extended use is made, and at once, of the scientifically-trained men, and scarcely anything possible to wage-earners and the professions unless they listen to and profit by the scientific tutelage which yearly augments in volume. It is to those who have been taught to face facts and to grapple with concrete problems, that constructors will address themselves with most success in the political audiences of the future.

The new work projected will appeal powerfully, it is hoped, to scientific men and women, using "scientific" in the widest connotation. They will be its bulwarks. But for the immediate purposes of the originating activity, a closer-textured "cell" is necessary. And the heart of this cell must be the man of scientific research, who will be immersed in his own task, and have little time to spare for the service of a public to whose ears he would use an impeding jargon, in whose behoof he would often have to learn an obstructive dialect. Such a man is not often an administrator, nor likely either to care to be one or to make an efficient one. He works with a tiny and delicate pencil, not with a house-painter's brush. Again, in this work he has a special prerogative; quite a different type of task is obligatory on him. It may be true that in administration the future must enlist competent delegation of authority in the odd process we call government, rather than "representation," which is rapidly being reduced to its shrunken and proper dimensions among civilised folk. But in the domain of that pro-

gressive knowledge on which our work is based, delegation generally is impossible. Its possessors cannot delegate. But they can do the work that is here demanded of them. They can state, some of them, the best that is known; they may be able to communicate that, many of them; in any case they will be able to answer questions and to suggest them, upon the highest issues before the nation. On such helpers we shall rely for what may be termed our "Prerogative of Pounce" on error. Just as Germany for a century made it her business to obtain the Prerogative of Pounce, with her racial domination in view, so we, with a far higher aim, must hold a weapon which on occasion will enable us, not perhaps inevitably to overcome this or that foe, but at the worst to get a hearing for knowledge on any vital issue in any year. That surely is obligatory on Knowledge, else why is Knowledge given?

On such scientific aid we shall have to depend, also, for enabling us to hold our own, as and when the test comes, against efforts to capture the organisation itself for class, partisan, or dynastic ends,—for dynasties rule in interests quite as frequently as in the purlieus of Courts. So handy and adaptable a machinery as ours might be very aiding to a Political Group, if it could be captured; to a Party, if it could be bullied, bamboozled, or bribed; to sectional propagandists, if it could be commanded or commandeered. The scientific Consular Guard must, so to speak, hold the key of the position; they can always decline to help any end meaner than that for which they are working; without them the springs of new strength would be cut off. Their share as

constructors need not be exacting: it would be consultative chiefly, and, where organised rather than personal effort would need to be called on, organisations through which they can act already exist. There is no fresh burden, then, laid upon busy scientific men and women which they cannot probably now meet without disturbing a day's classes or a laboratory test.

The share of the administrators and politicians and willing workers is different. They would be Members of Parliament, workers for all progressive movements in touch with current needs, and sometimes not knowing where to turn for a "tip" that will propel a good cause one stage further. The need we set out to meet, the character of the aid provided, impose the very simplest and most elastic of organisations upon the Central body. Two or three administrators or politicians or educated amateurs, who could give time to this part of the work and get in touch at will with other administrators, alone or grouped, would not find the task of a Nerve Exchange of Information and Suggestion beyond their power; the efficiency ratio of the machine could be kept high. That would suffice at the outset. It is probably a mistake of the modern organiser that a committee sitting in consultation or in conversation (with or without cigars), is always and everywhere operative for wisdom. Constructors can reveal quite as much in administration as in science: Huxley's parallel between extinguished theologians and the strangled snakes about the cradle of Hercules, is true of British cults of organisation.

London, however handy for legislative touch, is not functioned for provincial touch. Hence other centres would have to be chosen where areas are possessed

of characteristics strongly differentiated. The general fluid type of organisation projected would be adjustable to most needs and opportunities, and whenever contact existed, and action was called for, the plan would suggest itself to those in control at the time. There are only a few parties to most action; they all exist in our case; the race excels in compromise and adaptation; and a constructive organisation would link them all up, and perhaps put the power of the Universe behind the effort. For we work with nothing less than irresistible reserves, if we can but get at them. The getting at them is our precise business in this part of our enterprise.

In regard to provincial administration, as distinct from that which concerns the State Legislature, constructors could ponder a new method of which delegation is the key. Wherever they touched national or provincial administration, they would begin by working through competent persons operating from a definite base, and with definite and discriminating objectives. New committees with new branches are taboo, at first. We have far too many now. They are the minor soporifics of the representative system, itself the major. Nearly every active adult and intelligent person is on some, many are on dozens, and there are a few folk in every county who seem to live on, or by, them. It must, indeed, be one of the perturbations of the overseers in the next sphere to find some familiar diversion for Earth's insistent committee-men to share. Without this pastime, what will they do there? Why should constructors, with duties so many and so difficult on so many committees, create others of their own, when

the community throws at their heads coverts for their shooting over? The constructor, as a willing worker, will be able to report needs to headquarters, to keep these informed as to the vital and imminent local needs, and to be the instrument through which the necessary and significant hint can be received, and interpreted. It would be an exhilarating experience for any active member of any public body to try membership of this movement for a spell. He might not soften Pharoah's heart, but he could play with plagues, and occasionally he might have the rare joy of imposing a devastating Nile mouth crossing.

The Reformer to-day on provincial bodies is very much bothered by selfishness, apathy, and ignorance; and, in the absence of fresh knowledgeable interests, apathy is normal. A constructor in touch with the heart of things is in no such case. He is himself adjacent to the inexhaustible; and in his contact with others he allows for the nature and pose of man. The situation therefore awakens him, and stimulates his inventiveness so that knowledge may not be wronged. Though that may sometimes seem to be inevitable, it should not often be necessary. Englishmen generally prefer the better, if they see it or can be got to see it. This last is the goal of the constructor, and the sporting spirit of his colleagues will sometimes aid. Altogether, a wide acreage of human opportunity sprouts with promise and good humour.

True to our objective and to our special method, we need not at the outset plan much further than for the linking of provincial areas to London headquarters, and for willing worker membership in the areas themselves. After function comes the form of growth. Delegation

of specified tasks to efficient units; the supply to such units of sufficient ammunition, are the inexpensive and effective beginnings of provincial work within the range of the provincial areas; the coalescing of units working at the face of the seam, so to speak, and therefore in touch with every phase of local need, will suggest a local organisation if one is required later. It is our tactical method that contact between demand and supply should be as intimate and as varied as is life in the individual; for this method the willing worker is the sufficing unit. He knows, he sees, he can apply his weapon. The method has been already tested by the writer, and with success.

There are other possibilities open to constructors in consultation. The country possesses many organisations to-day with aims similar, though none with an objective so novel and so powerful, and a method so hopeful. These should welcome us. Indeed, it may be possible for constructors to annex, or be annexed by, one of these existing organisations ready to prefer our method to their own.

CHAPTER X.

SOME POSSIBLE ALLIES.

I believe that among human institutions, that of private property next to personal liberty has had most to do with the uplifting and the physical and moral improvement of the human race.—Mr. Taft, Ex-President of the United States.

The world 's the book where the eternal Sense
Wrote his own thoughts; the living temple where,
Painting his very self, with figures fair
He filled the whole immense circumference.
Here then should each man read, and gazing find
Both how to live and govern, and beware
Of godlessness; and, seeing God all-where,
Be bold to grasp the universal mind.
But we tied down to books and temples dead,—
Copied with countless errors from the life,—
These nobler than that school sublime we call.
O may our senseless souls at length be led
To truth by pain, grief, anguish, trouble, strife!
Turn we to read the one original!

Campanella (Tr. by J. A. Symonds).

What sort of reception does an effort of this type merit in a free and, approximately, an educated country? What does it involve? Where can it look for Allies?

1.—It seeks to displace nothing that cannot very well be spared, and ought not now to be dead.

2.—It comes to fulfil the good work for which the dour efforts of past centuries have made ready the mind of man, and modern science has brought within reach of personal and corporate action.

3.—The tactic is of the simplest, for it consists in giving an intensely practical purpose to existing aims.

4.—It depends originally upon a few who wish to seize their chance, while they yet live, to stamp efficiency on as many of the activities of To-day as they can influence.

5.—It gives present and effective duty to thousands of willing workers, now caught in baffling coils of administration and shorn of pleasure and usefulness.

6.—There is nothing in the programme that imposes delay: the chess-board is set for the game, and all the openings are available.

7.—There are few political or administrative problems imminent which are not susceptible of instant service. Indeed, most are dependent upon such action as this.

8.—It can be started with less money than would buy a few first-rate equine sires. Its positive dividends need not be miserly; and the experience of a quinquennium would suffice either to justify the opening plan, or to yield a better. The work has to be done somehow; why should not knowledgeable folk have a hand in it?

Whence will come our Allies?

First, from those who are aware of inefficiency and its cost, have a high standard of efficiency themselves, and are without suitable opportunities to affect national and provincial administration. These are a host.

Second, from all new and energetic idealistic and Labour groups, the Labour Party particularly, who intend to use the voting machine and numerical superiority to vary the present distribution of power, and to acquire the physical and other comforts power seems to them to purchase.

In the first, and larger and stronger group if they know how to use their power, would be assembled the Navy and Army Reformers, the chiefs of the Fighting Services, the professionally educated and technically equipped classes, statesmen and politicians, and the active principals of all ranks in the Churches. They are working for the best as they see it; why should they not be more closely related to legislation and to administration?

In the second, outside social idealistic groups, would be assembled the advocates of change and reform—we use the phrase for convenience—among the wage-earning classes, and the best of their leaders.

For the idealistic groups, so valuable and so provocative, it is not too much to say that no method has ever been presented to them which offers greater opportunities for their own development in right practice in the interests of the communities they seek to serve.

As to the Labour Party, and the groups into which it is divided, we have seen that with the ambitions of any Party to acquire dominating power in State, constructors cannot be concerned. That sort of Kaiserism has cost so much lately, too, that it is likely to be out of favour with thoughtful workers for a long time, especially in an old and still dignified country where democrats can, and usually do, behave as gentlemen. It is patent, also, that with Labour as an occupational delusion, constructors cannot have very much in common. The notion that all the men who earn wages in all the countries must have the same type of terrestrial nourishment and exercise, mental and physical, or necessarily belong to the

same century, may be Linnæan; it bears no real relation to roots. But it would be grossly unfair to the forces behind organised British Labour to father either of these phantoms upon them, or to allow these aims, even where they are followed by persons, to keep asunder workers who cherish other aims held in common.

With all workers of worthy types we have one common bond. Enterprise must companion knowledge, and from workers we look for aid in encouraging enterprise. The Empire is a reservoir of unrealised potential capacity. At need, out of a British regiment it has always been easy to get men ready for most tasks that fall to an invading force in occupation; and to-day, out of our free race, it would be as easy to train men and women for any known service needed by town or by State. The material will never fail us: chiefs may fail the material. By some means enterprise has to be encouraged in everyone who has gift, time, or labour to offer. Sustained effort in the best working years of life has to become the rule and not the exception, not in the cause of production only, though that is vital, but for the sake of the developing differentiation of function natural and pleasurable—the development, in short, of the gift of life itself. Also, it will not be rational to expect enterprise or effort, unless reward is assured by the laws and customs of man as frequently as it is by the practice of Nature.

Now, in these three—Enterprise, Effort, Reward—the wage-earning and salary-earning classes are more deeply, more tragically, concerned than others. Not only because they have suffered most from discourage-

ment of the first and absence of the third, but because they have usually given freely of the second. The skilful differentiation of function, which to us means progress, depends wholly upon the presence to-day of all three. All workers will have to work harder than ever, more intelligently than ever, more efficiently than ever, to gain the possession and control of security, leisure, and comfort, so that they may become personally abler and more powerful units than they admittedly now are. For much of the sterility of their own efforts after political, personal, and occupational power, the workers have themselves to thank: they have to learn that the laws of development pay no regard to class whims or prejudices, and that mean aims, idleness, selfish and unclean pleasures, wherever practised, arrest growth. The fruits of excess rot impartially, in monkey, baby, man. The fruits of use ripen in all alike, and these are the harvests of the constructor. There are many businesses to-day which owe their success to one man's enterprise in design, device, or patent: he has often been the one man who has not been rewarded. There are businesses which induce enterprise in every worker and participant, and reward it in them; such practice might become the honoured habit of commerce and of national administration. It is idle to expect progress on any other lines; and unless those in control learn this, argument and time are alike wasted on them. They must be left to the painful penalty of rottenness.

All who are practically employed in the use of tool, machine, method, principle as applied to action, win opportunities, denied to others, of finding new and

necessary improvements and adjustments: on them, in short, revelation attends. It is futile to expect this revelation unless men give their best to their work, and companion it with sustained effort till effort becomes happily ingrained in their being. It is unwise to demand either if Reward is denied. The selfish exploitation of human brains must end, lest men turn and rend. It is absurd to suppose that the workers of any group will always permit the injustices which commercial greed hardens into custom. No self-respecting race will submit to such longer than it is compelled to by force, and if it has to take force as the remedy for them, the guilt of any error must be shared by those who provoked the explosion. Already many refuse to populate the planet till conditions such as they are entitled to obtain are attainable; and though it is Utopian to expect many to take a path the strong few now take, it may be well for the workers everywhere to know that there are sure paths, such as they have not yet trodden, for obtaining that to which they are entitled. But for most, for the many, the tricolour—Enterprise, Effort, Reward—will suffice for to-day and the day after.

It is certain that the Labour Party cannot succeed on party lines where all other parties fail; they may do better—possibly they would—but they may do worse. No more than others can they vary the root conditions, and they may be quite as slow as some others have been in learning these. Whether the leaders and the rank and file of the Labour Party use us or not, concerns them chiefly: we are ready now and always to help any and everyone, for that is the

atmosphere we breathe.

With regard to the other classes, much can be indicated in a few questions.

1.—Can officers, naval and military, hope practically to interest the electorate in national defence unless the closest national touch is established with it, and a civilian organisation is used as the nerve?

2.—Can scientific men hope to vaccinate a population with their aiding lymphs unless they get efficient probes—and use them?

3.—Can solitary professors, and watertight professions, hope to play their part in the outer world of darkness unless they aid to give professional knowledge, zeal, and craftsmanship, a much more extended practice? What instrument better than an administrative unity of knowledge and of character can they use?

4.—Where can the leaders of the Churches, perplexed by the burden of imperfect organisation and buffeted by changes in human whim, find better allies for their own healthy development and adjustment to need, than in those who, in aim and method, seek to be true to the highest revelation of To-day?

5.—How can the Triflers—and there are some; and the Dabblers—and there are many—easier get purpose into their muscles and assimilativeness into what brains they have, than by joining in this, the most entertaining of human pursuits.

6.—Will the old people who find the world getting dirtier, smaller, and more undesirable the longer they live in it, take a turn with the artists who keep fresh to the very end, with the students of the inexhaustible whom the inexhaustible never disappoints, with the craftsmen who, long after craftsmanship is

denied them, still keep their faith undimmed, and joy in the craftsmanship of others which they have taught themselves to understand?

Does it look as if willing constructors in any British county need be very solitary, or very idle?

CHAPTER XI.

THE RECONSTRUCTOR AS THE UNIT OF POWER.

The present life was rated from the first at the low value which has ever since been assigned to it in Christian teaching. The Church's great teachers have never thought this life desirable for its own sake. If they have weighed its joys against its sorrows, it was to bring out the heavy balance on the side of pain.—Rev. J. Gamble: *Quarterly Review*, January, 1917.

PUBLIC OPINION.

If Conscience be sole regent of man's soul,
Whose thoughts and will are but her ministers,
Needs must she disallow the enforced control
Of thoughts she thinks not, and of wills not hers.
This Soul-made Conscience is a Queen, whose cold
Strict sceptre rules her hidden realm, alone;
That Crowd-made Conscience is a harlot bold,
That own'd by many, yet is no man's own;
This Conscience is responsible for one;
That Conscience irresponsible for any;
Wrong done by all men is the deed of none;
That's no man's virtue which is made by many:
Since, therefore, God no Corporate Soul hath made,
How shall this Corporate Conscience be obey'd?

Robert, Earl Lytton.

The clearest light is ever necessary to guide the most important actions. Whatever the world may opine, he who hath not much meditated upon God, the human mind, and the *summum bonum*, may possibly make a thriving earth-worm, but will most indubitably make a blundering patriot and a sorry statesman.—Berkeley, altered by Coleridge, in "The Friend."

We have reached the mobile and mobilisable unit of power: the constructor, who is the automobile of construction. This chapter is solely concerned therewith. If we wish, we can all be constructors, or there is nothing in construction worth writing

about. It must now be clear, too, that however large our army of willing workers, however diverse each personal equipment, there is work for all: to-day's task for to-day's man. Unless those who assert that, can both suggest the tasks and demonstrate them, they are unfit for their self-imposed duty.

The methods so far reviewed have had special reference to activities to which we are necessarily committed when we work with others, either in the reluctant and inchoate medium of the State Legislature, or the somewhat adhesive Flanders mud of provincial and local administration. The definition and pursuit of objective, and the tactical policies indicated, accompany the corporate life which engages so much of the study of the student and extends the lucubrations of successive philosophers and commentators. They have not much to do with the root of all power and knowledge: our own separate minds, or the apparatus we temporarily permit ourselves to name mind, for want of the better word the Future will award.

Why should we be constructors, then?

The constructor builds, surely, because he believes in the immediate business in hand and wants to aid it, because he trusts the materials with which he constructs, has confidence in the tools available, and desires to be an operative, rather than a ceremonial, mason.

The message of the first quotation at the head of this chapter finds no championship here. Whatever rational explanation of its origin and practice may be urged and admitted, the revelation since wrenched from Nature has now dethroned it. Nature interpreted to an apprehending power which

will not be denied, has long belied that theory, else the planet would have been a silent tomb centuries gone. Most living things prefer life to death and fight desperately for it, and it is surely desirable that something so combatively cherished should be the subject of sane trust, of sober-minded and continuous experiment, of loyal co-operation. In a book intended for a work-a-day world, it is impossible to follow metaphysicians in their hunt for "ultimates" and their definition of them, tempting though that would be to this writer. The quest for reality by a temporary manifestation of it, must always be hazardous. The working hypothesis behind this chapter can be stated in a very few sentences. It is held that the indwelling power within us, that which apprehends phenomena which do not apparently apprehend us, must always, for human ends, be different from, and superior in kind to, all such phenomena, not subject to them but subjecting them to it. Do we want more than that to walk by: each day's march is rewarding, and its gained light is sufficient for the next day. It is assumed, nay believed, here, that Life is the greatest of all gifts, the supreme investment, the most august experiment we have the chance of making, that Duty born of gratitude for it should be the spring of action and the inspirer of persisting search.

It is not intended to discuss new or old theories of vitalism, or of any other "ism." The appeal is from one human consciousness, that is in any event quite aware of itself, to another human consciousness —that which reads this page. All that life means to each must be felt and expressed in terms of that

consciousness, for we have nothing else with which to know or to act. Why should we not invest it with the dignity that seems native to so remarkable a planetary phenomenon, a dignity which all the best that has been said, thought, or lived, has always affirmed, which science to-day illustrates more copiously than historic time was ever cognisant of. Obviously, if we do not regard life as worth having, or as worth serving, or human development as possible, we have no place among constructors. We may jaunt with the Complaisant Endurables, who tolerate a world much better than any they could make, in the hope of greater dividends in another than they have been able to earn here; or we may even drill with the destroyers of mankind. It matters not which. One thing is certain: there is no place for us in this company of constructors. When, too, we think of the great tasks ahead, may we not ask ourselves if these tasks can ever be peremptory to those who have not convinced themselves, by personal test and joy in the working, that the fight is one to which they are impelled by every pulse of being, every call of gratitude for unearned gift, every conception of duty and of, as yet, unrealised revelation? Can any be an efficient soldier—in home, town, county, country, regiment, church—who thinks and acts with a distorted unworthy conception of what life is, and can be made, or profoundly doubts its method and its goal?

It has seemed so difficult to many, trained and sheltered in traditional creeds and perhaps too much possessed by them, to realise and to trust this unique consciousness of personal identity, and the profundity of personal revelation, that a familiar illustration may

be welcome. It is impossible, probably, to learn the price each generation has to pay for the base-born fears of previous generations, for their mental cowardice, for their surrender to superstitious abnormalities. A dead weight in respect thereof has to be lifted, by loyal living for light and in the light. The nature of that dead weight is not susceptible of treatment here. But with personal and customary assessments of it, it is possible to deal in suggestive summary.

Many of us have already read a book more than once: it may have happened that we read it at 7; again at 14; again at 40. In regard to one or two of the boys' classics, it is certainly true that what amused at 7 was unnoticed at 40; what was not seen at 7, almost frightened at 40. The book, any similar book, is a different thing each time it is read at widely separated dates. Yet its type has not changed: it is the same book. Recall the world in which we lived at 8, at 14, at 21, at 30: to-day. Very much the same world really, yet how changed for us; not in any respect the same world, if we judge by our own consciousness. A stage further. It took some men thousands of years to demonstrate that the earth went round the sun: yet it always did. Eras passed before men knew what the stars were: yet stars have looked down on man from the first. The external universe remains much what it was when ancient Britons had political arguments and cracked each other's skulls; yet how differently it is regarded. Radio-activity existed before Genesis or Neolithic man. The change is personal and indwelling in man himself; acquisitive and accumulative in the race. We see the world we are; and none

other. Thanks to Science, and to these certainties, we know, as know we must, that there are probably as much more value and beauty in the visible universe, and in the conditions in which we daily operate, wherever we live, as have yet been disclosed. Nay, why not treasures even greater?

May we not conclude, all too hastily, that we have plumbed the depths of our days—so monotonous and, we think, so uninteresting—forgetting that the monotony and want of interest are within ourselves, that it is empty heads which make empty worlds, the dull, incurious, inert, animal unawakened consciousness which deprives these days of articulate speech and act, and our lives of dignity, of enterprise, and of strength?

Do we not, some of us, base our working hypotheses of life on the pathology of a civilisation? Is that prudent? True, disease and defeat have to be studied and understood, since that is the task of a being, who, judging from past successes, is born to master them. But ought we to allow this task to blind us to the larger certainty? Ought we to continue, under the influence of erroneous chronologies and outgrown human interpretations, to rank Death, for instance, as Lord of Life, and not an equal gift with the Birth it accompanies? The forces that make for life have won, as yet; it cannot be futile or foolish to seek tuition from them. Most generations have made those which succeeded them richer in that complexity of opportunity and of function, out of which greater and better things may reasonably be hoped for. All that science tells the listening and appreciative ear continues to-day the message and the

serene strength of prophetic seer since seership left records; and few who have pondered life will doubt that seership accompanied vision long before records began. The light widens even as we live! Have we not already outpassed the Tennysonian "red in tooth and claw with ravine" interpretation of Nature's unerring economy in the use of living tissue, that supreme achievement of an unknown chemistry, that choicest patrimony of the material world. We too are called to be workers in a living universe, and why should we be afraid of Life, or shirk its duties?

What is the application of this to the constructor and his duty?

We find ourselves in a world we know we did not create, members of a society we know we have done nothing to bring to the state in which we see it, partakers in stores of food grown by others, guarded by others, made accessible by others, living in houses not built with our labours, sheltered, fed, adopted into the human family long before we have established any right to attention by merit of our own, members of a nation made by the travail, blood and tears of ancestors we can never thank, and sometimes do not wish to thank. We are surrounded by opinions we do not in the least assent to, with many things settled for us: our race, our home (for no one chooses, so far as we yet know, the home to which he or she is born), our religion, or our lack of it. Indeed, most of our thoughts and acts are suggested, outside or within us, by forces of whose origin we probably know nothing that we can put on paper or talk about in public debate.

It is clear that we live each in his own world, and that by some fiat it is impossible to get others, even friends or wife, to stay very long in that world without visiting their own on their own account. The majority are, very fortunately perhaps, born to labour for a living. Opportunities for so doing are created by the love and activity of others, but the burden mainly falls on ourselves. Our first duty consists in getting foothold on the earth, clothes for our bodies, food for our nutrition, a roof over our heads: it is an admirable discipline. Still, the struggle for necessaries does not monopolise even our earliest years of manhood, and we are faced by many demands to exercise the curious power of choice dwelling within us. As we have often been told, and as experience proves, we are asked to decide in what world we shall live, what we shall do with our leisure, what friends we shall make, what targets we shall aim at, to what use we shall turn the opportunities or the obstacles of daily life. We leave school to enter school. Our education proceeds apace when we can get what we want, in things ever so minute. Here we are Lords and Commons of our own states; here we fix our draught of water, our gunnery power, our markmanship, our value in a society that seems to be built on unequal values and to be by them maintained. The more we realise our own identity, the more clearly we see that the nature of our own kingdoms is determined by what we really are ourselves, by gifts original and bestowed, and by the attitude of our minds towards them and a world outside. It is not necessary to say here and now for anyone else what that attitude should be. It

suffices that much of the propagandist work of a constructing organisation would concern itself with revealing to each the extent of these personal kingdoms, usually very poorly governed, yet rich in resources of political instruction and discipline.

If we watch a plant growing, we see that progress depends on the success with which, at the actual point of contact with water, air, or soil, its own mechanism absorbs food. The work has to be done on its own premises and by its own engine power. Is not development just like that with each of us? If we would know anything worth communicating about life, we must live and grow; and how can we better grow than by the application of our will and being to the absorption of food, knowledge, discipline, and craftsmanship from the circumstances of every day. It must be our task to do our own duty, whatever it is, as well as we can do it, and to do it better every year. Two additional dividends will be ours. The instrument will perfect itself. If we drive mind and body regularly and wisely, both work together more harmoniously and become more efficient executants of our purpose. As man or woman, we become more efficient for our own ends when we have done something so often and so well that we do it well automatically. Then the mind ceases to trouble about it: the machine runs by itself, and we are free to acquire some new power which in its turn becomes automatic. "The function of routine in religion as elsewhere is to clear the way for action." The other dividend, and to the practical politician the more useful, is the power thus acquired of knowing when other people do their work well; the efficient man at any trade discerns the slacker as soon as he

sees him move at a task. That is why it is worth learning to meet any creditable task that comes in our way: it helps us to see the other good work done by good men; it arms us against pretence in speech and act.

Is it not sometimes forgotten that men and women normally have more wealth than they know how to spend wisely; more health than they can employ usefully; more leisure than they use in becoming civilised; more of power, or of what may be termed "gift" in the sense that they did not make it themselves, than they either recognise or are thankful for, in every walk of life and in most of the climates. There are those who take all that life gives them, and never even thank their parents for introducing them to life! There is more beauty, more goodness, more laughter and sunshine born into this wonderful world of ours—let us go to a school and see for ourselves—than we know how to, or care to, learn to aid and appreciate. Like snails we drag our slow lengths over the most beautiful things born to the planet, temporarily surrendered to our power, often leaving them the worse for our passage, if not actually destroying them therein. It was not of the ordered wisdom of practical and effective life that young Tamlane* said:

"And all our wants are well supplied
From every rich man's store;
Who thankless sins the gifts he gets
And vainly grasps for more."

Who is there that is not, or has not been, "rich"

*"The Young Tamlane": Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border. Sir Walter Scott, Vol. II., 332.

in the deep sense? What a lucid phrase that is: to "sin our gifts," or ungratefully to hold them in light esteem.

Has not this point of view an express bearing upon construction?

The splendour of man's achievements on the earth is due to efforts of the few who, whether clever or not, by faith or sight use rightly and develop powerfully the gifts with which they have been honoured. We all have some. Wherever we test achievement and appraise progress, that is the verdict. Wherever we trace failure and retrogression,—loss, weakness, disaster come through the abuse of gift. And the greater the gift the more seems to hang upon its use: the greater the penalty or the gain.

If, therefore, it is right to concentrate attention on the perception and right use of knowledge, will, possession, or opportunity, to thus regard our life's experience as abounding in gifts of this type insufficiently recognised or inadequately used, we are the constructors, the practical statesmen, when we bend our efforts, and urge others to bend theirs, to the right use of opportunities as they are given: if, abandoning to others the assertion of dubious "rights," we base our creed and practice on duty all round, and use duty as the offensive weapon with which to compel others to do theirs by us. Nor is that a vain and futile weapon. No sword is sharper or of more tenacious and flexible steel. If it can induce or compel the right use of knowledge and power, the democracy will stand victor over it itself, as over all else. Can it ever do this unless it makes the fulfilled duty—the right use of its own power—the platform for the

assertion of its rights?

Can nations be regenerated on fictions? Can the structure of a nation's well-being be built on any other foundation than that which roots and obtains the well-being of the individual, and permits him to bring a better plant to enrich a better garden?

And for the individual, what is a wise proportion between the clamorous claims upon his mentality and every-day energy; how shall he adjust his hours aright between the games he plays and the duties he could really attempt and achieve? Some such division has to be made; some such proportion has to be fixed and observed if efficient life is the goal. The witness of this chapter should be clear. The life of sensation, of personal action in immediate surroundings, the life we have lived to-day and will live to-morrow, without being conscious of one-tenth part of its endowment, its purpose, its promise, its light, that life which occupies nearly all our days and some of our nights: that is the kingdom which the constructor vitalises first for himself. Here he would be student, master, sower, and harvester, for in his harvests he makes other harvests possible and takes away from no man that which is his. His richness of life and his power enhance life in all around him. That life of the imagination which plays with other people's business and life to the exclusion of the study of our own, the acts we frame for others, or bar them from, the quick judgments we arrive at with regard to things we shall never know and people we shall never meet—that is the kingdom which the constructor would circumscribe very carefully in his own life, for his own usefulness and illumination. Therein is he established

in power. To quote Kipling:

With great things charged he shall not hold
Aloof till great occasion rise,
But serve, full-harnessed, as of old,
The days that are the destinies.

He shall not plead another's act,
Nor bind him in another's oath
To weigh the Word above the Fact,
Or make, or take, excuse for sloth.

The yoke he bore shall press him still,
And long-ingrained effort goad
To find, to fashion, and fulfil
The cleaner life, the sterner code.

CHAPTER XII.

THE USE OF INSTITUTIONS IN STATESMANSHIP.

The existing institutions . . . . are not the best; they are not just; and in respect to you, personally, O brave young man! they cannot be justified. . . . But they do answer the end: they are really friendly to the good, unfriendly to the bad; they second the industrious and the kind; they foster genius. They really have so much flexibility as to afford your talent and character, on the whole, the same chance of demonstration and success which they might have if there was no law and no property.—EMERSON, "The Conservative."

Him I would call the powerful man who controls the storms of his mind and turns to good account the worst accidents of his fortune. The great man . . . is somewhat more. He must be able to do this, and he must have an intellect which puts into motion the intellect of others. — LANDOR (Diogenes and Plato Conv.).

Now that we have studied the unit of power, and the attitude of our minds to our personal problems—the root of this book—it is necessary to review one or two of the difficulties in the path of the active constructor, who accepts the initiative suggested, and wishes to exercise himself in statesmanship.

One difficulty will often be connected with, and arise directly out of, the representative institutions of the country. An institution may preserve for each generation much that is good, but a price has always to be paid for the institutional form. This chapter suggests that if we try to identify the price that is paid, we shall better be able to use institutions as helpful instruments.

The readiest contact offered, or put within our reach is, and must be, that of our party: political, ecclesiastical, scientific, esoteric, social, occupational. Of these, the first and the last will have the sharpest edges and the most penetrative point; and may will serve as chief illustrations. After what has been earlier said, it suffices, in regard to these activities, to remind the practical politician that if he keeps his vision and his sense of proportion he will keep his feet. He will then serve his party where it can be fitly served; he will not be used by it for purposes that will hurt him or others. He has to be a judicious co-operator and colleague, not a dupe or a door-mat. There is no party in the Empire for which he should dirty his nature, commit an injustice against a neighbour, or break the Golden Rule. There cannot be in a party anything for his use better than the development of his own consciousness through corporate action in ways that satisfy his sense of justice. He may permit better men, and men of commanding personality, to influence him in matters of which he has no personal cognisance; he will be prepared to pay his penny and yield allegiance to a party view sometimes, as an omnibus generalization which makes for convenience and propulsion in that which copper-coinage can buy. But he will not yield because the party view, as a corporate view, is much better than his own—since that is illusory; and he will get out of the omnibus when it nears his destination. He need not go to its garage with it. That is why it is an omnibus.

Our political parties and social groups are necessary to the identity of the flocks into which we are

gathered; to the preservation of instinctive and ancestral habit; to the ascent of the ambitious from the oleaginous to the Olympian. Cash maintains their machinery, and they impose by advertisement, both of which permit a prudent fixity of objective: it pays to keep them up. Also are they the weapons of the honest worker and seeker, of the practical administrator, and of the patriot. They are, in short, much what we wish to make them, when we know how to make anything. Why not make them the reliable and efficient tools of practical politicians: the servants, not the masters, of our ends. We cannot remain outside them with comfort: most of us will wish to meet in them. How necessary, then, to study them, and how much easier to do this, if we keep them, so far as we can, within their habitually effective spheres of influence. There is no reason why workers belonging to different, and even to opposing political groups, should not be intimate personal friends, if each understands the nature and the range of political differences in a civilised country, and is true to his own best hypothesis of life. Where this understanding is not, heat rather than light is engendered by contact of opposites. In the many grades of enlightenment between, there is room for more appreciation of each other's aims than often now obtains. Those who in opposing parties are out for "graft," may be left to fight each other. They usually counteract each other.

Another difficulty—it is very real and oppressive just now—is the Phrase. This chapter could be filled with the artificial and captivating jingles which are often made to do duty for facts and for reasoning from

facts. They are the chatter of the generaliser, which he tries to exchange for our hoarded thought. We hear of some "new Order," the "new Science," the "new Light," which is an old disorder, illusion, or darkness, made palpable to those who had forgotten the former superstition. The perusal of books on "reconstruction" set the writer paralleling the phrases of some quite recent, and, as they surmise, advanced British writers on this subject, with the aims and methods of a German professoriate who ignored factors of civilisation they themselves lacked: "World universities," "world power," "world culture," "world revolution," "world peace," "collective will," "collective ideals," "self-determination," "democratic control," "voice of the people," "rights of man," "peacedom," "wardom," "bureaucracy," "average mind," the "money-cult," "the super-man," "the super-mother," "pacifism," "militarism," the "will to prevail," the "will to power," "Labour," "science of power"—all slippery and unsubstantial playthings of the human brain, visualising some living order which is assumed to have form and power outside personal consciousness.

"Cults" in topical literature are as freely announced in reference to economics, sociology, philanthropy, and faiths, as they were thousands of years ago in the swarming river valleys of the fertile East, when sun, moon, and stars, and vagrant visitants from space gave rise to cults many and combative: the soap-bubbles of the fecund imagination of Nilotic and Euphratean man. There are men and women to-day who lighten the load of

life by phrases, and get a living out of them; revolutions have been made for phrases and by them; and most of the abominable crimes of history are wrought in vindication of some apparently innocuous aspiration. We meet with phrases everywhere: many are obsessed by them. Why not watch and study them, testing them as occasion offers. We may, indeed we must, sometimes play with them, for they are very buoyant and dainty. Like soap-bubbles, they rise from the surface of our thought, reflecting equally the light of a hundred years, as of the newest and tiniest of burners. But they are not self-luminous; they lift no weights; they are uncertain guides. These pets of Proteus (see how the habit persists), these perfumes of a laboratory synthesis, are for our amusement, and not our edification. Propagandists revel in phrases: which are indeed their stock-in-trade. It is the tricksy colour of the artificial "fly" which tempts the impulsive fish; it so cunningly resembles the titbit he swallowed aforetime. Too late he realises, as does the reader when he tries the much-advertised specific, that ills are more stubborn than they seem. Scientific fishing began with "angling with the appetite" of the fish. Have we grown much since?

When we come to established institutions—those with ordered organised life, we are confronted by obstacles which more intimately concern us than do political parties or popular phrases. Especially in the provinces, which we have seen are really the country, institutional life is of prime moment. The established institutions of the country divide us into families. They bit and bridle the wild among the sons

of men; they steady the eager; they baulk the best. Controversies within them, and arising out of them, are the very breath of our nostrils—one with the weekly wage, the Sunday dinner, the monthly cheque, and that baronetcy on the horizon. Rooted in the past, they are the mother of memory and of memorable children. To use and not abuse them, we must understand them. "The great fault of political writers," says Lord Morley, "is their too close adherence to the forms of the system of state which they happen to be expounding or examining. They stop short at the anatomy of institutions, and do not penetrate to the secret of their functions." This writer does not suggest that he anatomises here. This is not the place nor the time for anatomy. He seeks to review some characteristics which should make the paths of practical politicians easier, and efficiency in corporate effort more feasible.

Let us attempt an illustration from our religious institutions. If these can be treated with the reverent care necessary, and with even a slight measure of success, one compass direction (in statesmanship, not in religion), may be clearer.

Is it not obvious that no church can live as a religious body, and as a terrestrial institution based on money-giving and property holding—as are the chief Christian churches—unless there are many, perhaps a majority, in it to whom it is the chief expression of terrestrial wisdom and the authoritative promise of celestial life? To them the mandate is supreme and authentic. The outsider may easier see the rough external walls than the inner aisles; and judge from dripping guttering than from

aureate altars. But the inner worshipper is content with what he sees. Could he truly worship if he did not feel that, within, he does touch a power, not himself, which quickens his spirit? Surely there must be some such human bricks in every structure Faith builds, and the spirit of man wishes to inhabit. There are, in each church, also, many who are fully aware of the price to be paid for any human institution, who see its many imperfections in their right relations, and all in the dim twilight of earth. Each true, and, so to speak, committed, worshipper in any nave should understand the depth of the loyalty another feels to quite a different form. He should understand, in all controversies, that for which the other must fight and will fight; and he can adjust his conduct to the call. Fighting may be necessary; but it need not be foul. Those who do not think human institutions are divine in form and habit, whose faith has, as they think, larger wings, at least know this building necessity, and can make allowances for it. These are not likely to miss the spiritual bond which unites all who follow the spiritual quest.

It is suggested here that footpath progress—and that is all we can attain—will be easier, if we regard such institutions as ministering servants rather than as executive and ruling masters. They are here because man created them, and lives by them. They will die when man can do better without them than he can do with them, if ever that time comes. Where would any institution be, if those who uphold it vanished from the earth? It has been seen that there may be little in any of them that the human mind or soul does not give, or does not receive. How, then,

can we so far forget ourselves and our great destinies, as to quarrel about that which is in itself transitory and obsequious to the spirit of man? We do not quarrel about chisels—which is the sharper; about wells—which yields the purer water; about rifles—which has the higher muzzle velocity. We differ—true. And we test to decide the issues. But till these can be decided, we lay weapons aside. We do not browbeat each other with the opinions of people who never saw a chisel, could not analyse water, nor name the points of a rifle. To the reverent and equipped mind, testing of institutional life in its influence on the individual is not impossible. It may not be easy to test many institutions thus. It is not necessary: we have only to test those with which we have personally to do. If we do not like them, we need not pay attention to them, and no institution would live long if men and women were born, lived, wrought nobly and died, outside it. But, like them or not, we have to work with them; we most of us live in them and through them; we possess them or are possessed by them. Surely it is best to seek the serving grace which shares the throne,* and then to let the test of the day show which is the better constructor for his time, the better builder of his own character and life, the truer fulfiller and friend of the lives of those who love the law and the light. The sharper chisel, the purer water, and the best marksman are rarely in need of explanatory apologists, or of appeals to traditional authority.

* Cui servire est regnare: the original of "Whose service is perfect freedom."—Collect, Book of Common Prayer.

Why spend time over non-essentials, or even over essentials which will not operate under any rule known to, or possible on, the earth, while so many unregarded tasks call for daily ministration close at hand? Our beneficent and necessary institutions belong to man's apprenticeship, obviously; why not trust them as useful tools and use them as tools? Can they be anything else just yet?

The history and practice of any established institution are as much matters of research as is the Osmia bee or cancer; and are subject to the same rule of revelation. Man has no reason to be ashamed of his past—considering his past. And the agencies by which he has lifted himself, or been lifted by great influences he cannot wholly measure, are not to be slighted, schooled, or submerged to suit the passing whims of passing days. There is no need to shrink from appreciative inquiry; there can be no peril in learning about the roots out of which our present has come, and all our futures are to be fashioned.

CHAPTER XIII.

PUBLICITY AND MASS-SUGGESTION.

The people is a beast of muddy brain
That knows not its own force, and therefore stands
Loaded with wood and stone; the powerless hands
Of a mere child guide it with bit and rein:
One kick would be enough to break the chain;
But the beast fears, and what the child demands
It does; nor its own terror understands,
Confused and stupefied by bugbears vain.
Most wonderful! with its own hand it ties
And gags itself—gives itself death and war
For pence doled out by kings from its own store.
Its own are all things between earth and heaven;
But this it knows not; and if one arise
To tell this truth, it kills him unforgiven.

CAMPANELLA (Tr. by J. A. SYMONDS).

Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.—PRESIDENT LINCOLN, Feb. 27, 1860.

It is this domineering temper of the sensual world that creates the extreme need of the priests of science, and it is the office and right of the intellect to make, and not to take, its estimate.—EMERSON.

Some summary references must be made to the prevalent use—and abuse—of Publicity, and to its intimate connection with Suggestion. Special difficulties and special opportunities exist here for constructors; and these ought to be mentioned before we pass from institutional use and abuse.

It is impossible now to attempt anything beyond a treatment which shall be indicative and illustrative; readers can themselves find appropriate parallels.

Publicity and Propaganda are frankly accepted, with all their implications: that must be made quite clear.

Practical politicians themselves will freely use both, look for co-operation from others who are using them, and study most carefully all abuses thereof before they pass judgment upon them. In their own statesmanship, they may work under a new impulse and follow a new tactic; but the use will be there.

Nor can there be any dubiety preached or practised in regard to the advantages publicity has brought in the past, and may bring in the future. In democratic countries, as in autocratic countries, it has vindicated itself. In so far as the interest and co-operation of honest, intelligent, and active persons have been engaged and encouraged in almost any corporate activity, or administrative function, development has followed almost inevitably. It should be the personal and corporate aim of practical politicians to arouse fresh interest of this type, and to augment a co-operation already fruitful.

The purpose of this chapter is complementary. It suggests that there are new risks in regard to publicity, new dangers arising from propaganda, risks and dangers accompanying the great extensions that have been made in the range and influence of both in recent decades. If these are stated, even cursorily, practical politicians may find their own objectives and methods exactly fitted to the needs of their time.

Some of these risks are obvious: to mention them is to arm against them. It is to their existence that we owe that "fog of influence" in what is called "public opinion," to which even the "fog of war" is transparent. Most newspapers and periodicals, propagandist pamphlets and speeches, bear their birth-marks on their brows: knowledge and intelligence will

ask for little outside help in allowing for bias, for prejudice, and for partisan preferences. But it is well to recall the conditions in which such Publicity obtains. The search for facts of moment, and their adequate presentation, are not the chief objects of any popular Press. It is as easy to start a newspaper and to maintain it, to write a sermon or a pamphlet and to print both, as it has been to start a private school. And sometimes as injurious! Large circuses and large circulations have much the same genesis, call for much the same type of management, and attract much the same audiences. It is just as easy as ever it was, and as usual, for Publicity and Propaganda to be profitably used by the selfish, the ignorant, the fraudulent, and the intentionally evil. There is no saving grace in the printed word or advocate's speech apart from the knowledge, duty, and active love of the brethren it manifests. People who get others to do their growing, or their thinking, for them, have to pay a heavy price for sloth. Even those who wish to learn the truth in regard to matters of which they are not personally cognisant, sometimes forget that it is extremely difficult to make clear to most of the readers of the popular Press, anything which is definitely new and true.

But the special risk which concerns the practical politician is the relation which exists between Publicity and Suggestion. No technical contribution to so intricate a subject can be attempted here; nor indeed any reference which will not be in harmony with the practical working aim of the book. A few familiar illustrations, perhaps in a new setting, should suffice to show the nature of the risk, and to make it possible

to ponder the safeguard contemplated.

While as yet scientific psychological investigators are in the dark as to the genesis of hypnotism, the nature of suggestion, and the resources of the subliminal self, generations of active men and women, and human institutions, have been putting the human faculty of suggestibility to real and binding service. It is at the root of institutional work in form and practice, of all political propaganda, of personal advocacy, and of commercial caprices and successful advertising. Men and women are operating with it to-day in every land, and in most types of civilisation. Their opportunities have grown with the passing of the years; the spoken and the printed word have probably become more and not less puissant as men and women have had their imaginations stimulated, and their curiosity aroused. The medium has become much more responsive; there are more who are interested in turning the new pliability to account. In the mass—perhaps the term mass-suggestion may be conveniently employed here—it has wrought wonderful triumphs for good, and abysmal crimes. Civilisation has found in human suggestibility a gunpowder magazine, all the more unstable at times because even the constituents of the explosive mixtures are not yet known, though men have learnt how to make and to fire a fuse. From the imposed interest to the madness of crowds there is often but one step. When M. Thiers brought the body of Napoleon I. back to its majestic sarcophagus—where even German princes were wont to whisper lest they should waken him—he was laying the foundations of the second, and the meaner, Empire. When in the fulness of

time French Republicans allowed a vote for the Presidency of the Republic to be taken by plebiscite, they made certain the success of the bearer of the best-known name—the most widely-advertised patent medicine. France took it; and found it fatal. Napoleonism is still vital, and we may not yet have seen its last manifestation in England. Each quinquennium brings a fresh illustration thereof. When the many have to vote for one, and personal knowledge and wise selection are alike barred by the circumstances of the election, it is inevitable that he or she whose name has been most often on the lips of the people will head the poll. The best advertised specific is chosen, if all can have a voice in its selection. As men and women are constituted to-day, that much advantages the quack. Quacks, like scavengers, have their uses, and may be tolerated. They need not be endowed and obeyed.

Man is gregarious: he likes to be in a crowd and to feel with one. Why should he not recognise that he is here the possible victim of an attractive and insidious epidemic, either in his own personal case when he succumbs to his pet hypnotist, or in his corporate life when he capitulates to some passing and prevalent fever of opinion which for the moment obsesses him. If in his own case he sees the risk, he will, in the other, test his guides as he tests the men to whom he trusts his gold or his reputation. And if that is not possible, he will at least insure sufficiently against the ruin of error. He will realise that here his own knowledge and his own control are reduced to vanishing point, and that he should not put too precious a cargo into a helmless ship. History and knowledge

would carry him further. They would tell him that those who have been clothed with institutional rule, or entrusted with the power of many gathered into the hands of one, have sometimes been criminal, very frequently stupid, and almost always inadequately equipped for the efficient discharge of their duties. To imagine that others are going to do his own work for him as well as he can do it for himself; and that, if he permits them to try, he will probably get gold for his silver and never a false coin from the mints of man, is to be credulous rather than believing, slovenly rather than caretaking, in a world where even the faithful and the careful are often beaten in battle, and the credulous and the slovenly must perforce be sometimes overwhelmed.

There is an exaggerated receptivity fostered by the rapidity of modern interchange of thought and communication of stimulus, which manifests itself ordinarily in what is called crowd-consciousness, though that is an unsatisfactory term. Sometimes, by the guidance of common sense, it must register on the right target; more often it fulfils itself in spasms of ill-directed energy and in crimes, both of which have to be expiated later. Europe is living through diverse types of these visitations, and readers will find no lack of illustrations for themselves. It greatly concerns the practical politician to-day to diagnose the possible epidemic, and to protect himself against it. As we move from personal receptivity and its realities—"our echoes roll from soul to soul, and grow for ever and for ever"—to the more facile exaggerated form of receptivity which is allowed to dominate thought and action to-day, so do we move from the

authentic to the spurious, from the ascertainable to the wholly contingent and illusory, from the rational to the irrational and the instinctive. So do we move from that which is most human to that which is least human in man, from the highest revelation to that which is nearest the raw material out of which man has been so marvellously and so benevolently moulded.

The methods of the German infantry attack; the imposed discipline of great Churches; the fancy franchises of the occupational categories at home and abroad; some avowed ideals of the European Press, are less unlike each other generically than they appear to be on the surface. They probably illustrate respectively the vice, the virtue, the mediocre mean, and the most prevalent mischief, of the phenomenon. In essence they owe their origin to the apparently fathomless suggestibility of human nature. They work with like instruments, and by much the same methods of direct and conscious imposition of statement and idea. They differ as use and abuse differ, in the intention or objective of the directing minds at the top: there, and there chiefly, do we touch the issues of civilization.

The practical politician who accepts the goal and the method herein described, is better armed than most can be against the misuse of this gift of Nature, and will be most prompt in its use. Those who are easily influenced by suggestion at the will, intentioned or not, of others, are often those who are themselves defective in knowledge. The defect* may be quantitative or qualitative: i.e., it may consist in the lack of knowledge or of firmly established

* "Encyclopædia Britannica," Vol. 26, p. 49.

beliefs about the subject of the proposition, or it may consist in the lack of systematic organisation of such knowledge as the mind possesses. "The well-trained mind is relatively insuggestible, firstly, because it possesses large stores of knowledge and belief; secondly, because this mass of knowledge and belief is systematically organised in such a way that all its parts hang together and mutually support one another." That epitomises a national army, and the movement of an organised field force to which the liberties of any nation and the guardianship of Good may be entrusted. It should characterise quite as accurately the enterprises of constructors who have learned the miracle of growth through the use of Function. When will it describe the mentality of our democracy? Shall we be safe from the Day of No Judgment till it does? In any case, the first steps have been shown to be possible. In proportion as any mind knows something well—has not that brick been laid—so far is it equipped with a shield against the grosser forms of suggestion in things that have to be done to-morrow morning. So far as it learns its own business, and minds it, it will be illuminated as to other businesses and some other minds. As it realises the complexity and wealth of its own being, and the dangerous possibilities of mental hysteria in what are called mass movements, so will it be immune to the hypnotism of tyrants and exploiters, so will it be able to welcome the truer inspiration from the truer guide. In the present state of man's ignorance, we may yet have to fight much mass-suggestion as we would fight a malignant fever: we certainly must watch it as we would watch a beast as yet untamed.

Is not that the exact duty that has fallen to our race in these our greatest days? It is not ours to judge between our enemies and ourselves, but their use and our use of this powerful weapon is contrasted for all to see. What more imperious mandate can an honest white race ask for, than that which is implicit in this last challenge of the hypnotised generations of Germany to-day: the disciplined victims of mass-hypnotists who avowed their practice and announced their goal. By them, every form of suggestion, whether by institution or by publicity, has been used in turn and in unison to degrade Man below the brutes. No man who respects himself, or others, can ever capitulate to a tyranny so base, or consent to abandon the earth to a philosophy so essentially inhuman and degrading—the new White Slavery, indeed. If by any legitimate means open to men he can end it—end it he will.

The Lower Art—which describes the practice much better than does the "Black Art"—is with us to-day as of yore, and its continuance can be traced in that which it has left behind it, and that which still illustrates it: fetish, medicine-man, witchcraft, infallible human prepossessions, the obsession of numbers, efficiency by the forcible imposition of one type of it, appeals to superstition, credulity, prejudice, and passion, secret societies of all types, and Germanism out of Germany. It can only be mastered by the Higher Art: the right use of the gift of Life and the courageous personal development of all its highest powers.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE GOAL OF EFFICIENT SERVICE.

It fortifies my soul to know
That, though I perish, Truth is so.
That howsoe'er I stray and range
Whate'er I do, Thou dost not change.
I steadier step when I recall
That, if I slip, Thou dost not fall.

A. H. CLOUGH.

Education of the kind which is of any practical value in the government of a nation means the teaching of human motives, of humanising ideas, of some system whereby the majority of electors can distinguish the qualities of honesty and common-sense in the candidates they wish to elect. I do not pretend to say what that system may be, but I assert that no education which does not lead to that kind of knowledge is of any practical use to the voting majority of a constitutionally governed country.—MARION CRAWFORD, in "Saracinesca."

Beyond all question, Sir John Moore was the very best trainer of troops that England has ever possessed. His system . . . rested on one principle, that every officer should know his duty and do it, and should teach his men their duty likewise. . . The details of the actual movements in which he exercised them were immaterial; the essence of this training was the cultivation in all ranks of that self-reliance which springs from knowledge.—Fortescue's History of the British Army, Vol. VI., page 410.

Has not the policy of the First Chapter been attempted and its programme prepared—however inadequately? A new factor in the national life has been suggested in definite relation to State responsibilities, to provincial and local self-governing bodies, to the present corporate enterprises of our peoples, and to the daily duty of each of us. All have been viewed from the point of view of the security and development of the Motherland, which are the first

political goals of practical statesmen; and, after pondering the How and the Why, we have reached, and appealed to, the driving power itself, and described some of the difficulties initiators have to understand.

Some readers may not find it easy to reconcile the Committee use first suggested with the delegation method which is later preferred. As one working hypothesis informs both, any such inconsistency is probably more superficial than real, and should yield to the personal pondering without which little can be won from any book on this most difficult of subjects.

Early chapters avowedly do imply some Committee organisation, active and consultative, and the writer is sufficiently bent on victory not to define it more closely in this preliminary study. But why is Committee use thus indicated? Because these chapters contemplate interference, as occasion offers, with national administration, and national administration is conducted through the greatest of Committees: the Houses of Parliament. To be able to illustrate afresh when Committees can be used or be dispensed with, it is necessary, in a world of Committees, to indicate both in affirmative and convincing practice. This implies some form of organisation; but a prudent politician is not compelled to disclose the details of his method, if these are barred by the conditions of the campaign. If a plan were set forth here, if "terms of reference" were elaborated, what guarantee has any newly-formed group of workers that these will not be imposed on it as fresh chains, like the "constitutions" of public bodies, scientific and other, the trust deeds of

churches, the rules and bye-laws of societies—instruments of delay, by which those who cannot know all may check the progress of many who might otherwise learn. Do we not know the type of mind to which are due the interminable discussions on mechanism which prevent some machines from moving, yet always make it possible to carry a motion for adjournment. In this enterprise the need of each year will bring a new administrative problem, and the knowledge of each year will contribute to any staff the fresh available aid. We must have that staff, because staff work has to be done, in circumstances and with contacts where only staffs can be of use.

Later chapters concern each man's business and tests in practical statesmanship, looked at from the personal standpoint. They suggest that a better method of local and area administration may be introduced by practical politicians, the key to which is "delegation," though, for reasons above stated, that method is not yet fully described.

There is no inconsistency between the two.

As much as 75 per cent., probably, of the constructive work indicated in this book can be effected, if constructors wish, without any new organisation, and none would be better pleased than the writer if this were to be first achieved. That is about the percentage of time, labour, and brains which should be given to practical, as differentiated from necessarily co-operative or partisan, politics.

Though all these chapters were written amid many perturbations in months of terrible fighting, no extensive references have yet been made to the war. No such references are possible now; but one summons

to the nation seems to rise imperiously, alike from the war's welter as from the subject matter of this book.

There have been many other foul and brutal abuses of power before this latest betrayal of Man by a Prussianism working through a raptorial caste. But past history is still a closed book to most, and a dead book to some; and reconstructors will draw their best ammunition to-day from the wreck of the old Europe and the rebuilding of the new. This history is open: let us keep it so. In Germany's case—to mention one of many implications—is it not possible to mark that the virtues of a great race may be made of none avail, if the executive power to which it commits itself is neither civilised nor able, if the many neither care to learn how power is exercised, nor how executive betrayal of trust can be prevented betimes? In Italy, Spain, Russia, France, our own country, how blind must be the student of power whose political discoveries, for his own practice, fail now because his material is scanty!

It may be difficult to get general readers, or popular audiences, to realise that Germany's intensive cultivation of war is neither the most dangerous nor perhaps the most considerable of her contributions to human experience and possibilities. There will be both time and opportunity to review her military failures in the first great modern war she waged against first-rate and martial races. There may not be very much time nor very many opportunities to interpret the political and economic portents, which have been, and still are, the more menacing.

Europe has had a previous and a similar vaccination of a milder type of this experimental plague.

Stupidity in power gave French revolutionary armies and the Napoleonic regime their chances, and both did very much to make modern Europe. France and the French armies, whatever the cost to them, quickened the inert masses of the Continent and taught the dull folk of the Central plains how to sting. Their drums made even the Berliners prance, and Goethe saw the first act of the new drama. Hoche, Dampierre, Marceau, Kleber, Lannes, Davout, Desaix, Clausel, Ney—to mention some of the more creditable—did not perhaps realise what they were building. Nevertheless they built, and for a century. So the modern German foray on the same military model, may well lead to the New Europe in which the sharpest battling of the new Empires will begin when the war-propellers no longer hum. Surely, it must be patent that the modern German army is but the child of something more momentous; the instrument of a policy springing from a nation's loins, which mastered and moulded the people; and that, in the practice thereof, Germans have attempted and achieved a Germanism which, after the war, will and must remain a perpetual challenge to other nations more loosely organised, less sternly schooled by the disciplinary education Germany subjected herself to for national ends. It is not unlikely that great victories and great defeats, suffered and shared, may unify her politically-linked peoples as nothing else could. She may have to buy her future Empire (as a German judge told the writer, in 1911, in Austria) in "blood and tears"; but it may very well come to her. Whatever happens to her own armies and her rulers, the German people will remain, and there will

be other generations living in every European country who have learned that, in some of the availing powers of earth, the Germans are their superiors, better educated, more enterprising industrious and thorough, filled with consuming and driving energy, able to work, and to make others work, beyond the anticipations of temporary ally or of deadly foe. Are we not opposed by a special type of gregarious development which demands as much from us in politics and economics as it already has exacted in the knowledge and practice of war.

Ought we to assume that the development of Germanism (their own word) will be arrested by the war; the war has not been its most successful achievement so far. May it not even be aided by the war? Let us assume that it will be aided, as seems probable. It may be said that it need not be hostile to our Empire, though some students assume that it is bound to be. But it is certain that, whether it is hostile or friendly will not be in our power to decide. Whichever it is, this too is certain: it will not be met and shared, or met and mastered, by anything less industrious and zealous than itself. By no machinery of voting, or credence given to empirical ignorance, can the slothful, the ignorant, and the disorganised close the highways of the world against the energetic, the educated, and the organised. New Europe and its nationalities will have to learn as much from Germany as Germany will have learnt from her own creed. In any probable event the path is not going to be smoother for this Empire than it has been in the past.

The wheel has come full circle, and both the Infamous States and the Famous States can mark the

divide; so far, it is folly at the top of the rawer civilisation which has yielded a breathing space to the older. We have in England another day dawning which we may dedicate to knowledge and to duty.

To-day two opposed ideals are at deadly war; and war is not going to put ours down.

Will peace? Has not any State that wishes to be Famous, to become stronger and more efficient in the use of all legitimate terrestrial power, than any State it holds to be Infamous? Is it necessary for the moral, to be the more stupid, man? Is it possible for him to win if he ordinarily is? If Right is Right, ought we not to live for it, work for it, die, if need be, for it. Ought we not to learn how to win with it? That honesty and knowledge should capitulate to dishonesty and ignorance, is futile folly abhorrent alike to Christian grip and common sense. "The strong man armed keepeth his palace."

The new Empire, then, has to be a more efficient Empire than the older one has been, has to make a better use of its gifts and opportunities. How can it become more efficient, unless it uses to the full both knowledge and duty?

Is it not the very urgent business of the Empire to breed, to train, and to use more efficient men and women; and to see that high use is the goal in corporate and State enterprises always and everywhere. Readers can get the definition of "efficiency" in a dictionary: like sympathy, if man finds it nowhere else, he can always find it there. We add to that, here, that the relentless, selfish, and dominating use of power to which Germanism has accustomed us, is barred, however temporarily successful against the

ignorant it may sometimes be. There has been far too much Germanism of this type in British politics, British business, and British social life: there is too much of it now. The Germans are not the only pirates; and much that we associate with German aims has been seen and noted in British towns. Knowledge, office, function, duty, have been betrayed for many decades by many persons, in both Empires.

It is not to be assumed that in any British country efficiency is seriously sought by any very large number of people. It is sought by individuals, and here and there by trading companies whose fortunes depend upon enterprise and honest methods. It is sought by successful individual traders, by efficient generals and admirals, where these are allowed to attempt it. But of its price, its conditions, and its chief reward, the people generally have neither been taught nor shown enough. It is time some organisation existed to seek efficiency, to practise it, to suggest it, and to exact it when it can, from every administrative unit. Grit and grip are necessary to-day in the government of the country and of ourselves.

In the efficient use of public monies, and of public time for which the public purse pays, in the conservation of Imperial resources, in the routine discharge of routine Imperial duty when no one else sees what is being done, in the service of the State in home department and distant posts, there is patriotic service of the highest value to be rendered to the community to-day,—duty to be done and the truth to be spoken. Democracy has to set a new standard, and to employ those who will work to see that it is maintained.

Particularly after an orgy of State extrava-

gance, so penalising, so destructive, the very lust of waste, will the aid of constructors be essential. There is every prospect, too, that the very development of bureau activities, the monstrous regiments of people paid to get other people to do things, will raise administrative perils and penalties from which some such action as this book contemplates can best save the State. The demand for new Ministries, for new laws, and for new men, can easiest come—as a matter of fact does often come—from those who do not know how to make present ministers do their work, and present administrators administer old laws.

In provincial administration, the preliminary task before the electorate is the simplification of the machinery by which popularly-elected bodies attempt to do the work belonging to them. It will be necessary to begin with County Councils, who are often the worst sinners. Upon these comparatively new bodies the State has cast responsibilities the most onerous and diverse, and though they have often tried to learn the new duties, it is beyond the power of any State Department to create the will to work, and the capacity to work, as swiftly as it can impose new tasks and vote new bribes to get tasks attempted. Nor is it easy for members of these bodies in a decade to change the mental and administrative habits of a life-time. It is rare for County Councils to-day to be efficient: and what is true of them is true of local self-governing bodies generally. Though these transact some necessary business, and occasionally achieve a triumph, few ordinarily give themselves the chance to acquire efficient methods of work; their service is marred by ludicrous and avoidable in-

efficiency.

The time has come when the democracy must be provoked to study how best to adjust the old machinery to modern needs, so that popular and skilful interest may be fixed and not discouraged, and the ends obtained for which public money is so freely voted. With most of the popularly-elected bodies, "control" means constant interference by those who do not know with those who do, and wasted days on truly comical committees, many of whose members, unable to check waste at the main they might control, join sub-committees to chase a few errant and leaky taps, and open a dozen new ones as they go. Must we not realise that power resides in units; that tasks exist in units; and that on the intimate application of the unit of power to the task-unit the efficiency-ratio depends. Wherever efficient work is done, men and women who try to be efficient are doing it. Where these units are not, there failure has its throne.

To expect efficiency in local self-government from prevalent ideals and practices, is to draw cheques on the Universe which it has never yet honoured.

Is not the instrument on which so much depends worthy of a better fate than that which now befalls it? Will not the democracy see that in this, as in other departments of national development, it moves towards the better?

Unless we are effectual ourselves, unless we do that to which we put our hands, how can we usefully proceed to ponder the efficiency of others. It is not that the call comes to all to pursue excellence: that is the craft of the few. "The majority of things to be done are common things, and are quite

well enough done when commonly done." "The great end of life is not knowledge but action." (Huxley). It is within the range of common duties, those we accept or have to accept, that efficiency can by most of us be sought; and if only this standard is pursued, its assured and automatic raising will accomplish much for the race. On those, however, who exercise political power or administrative power, or are ambitious to govern their fellows as so many are, a sterner accountability rightly rests. In so far as they set standards for others, or exact standards from others, or interfere with the standards of others, they are in honour bound to be attentive to their own, and to see that these bear examination and can be vindicated.

The quotation from Mr. Marion Crawford at the head of this chapter, will not now present any insuperable difficulty. The power he wishes to obtain to select aright, or to select the better, is most to be desired. Could we but communicate it as a racing tip, or fashion it as a "system," to write a battered word, how popular this chapter would be—and how foolish! Is it not clear that usually none can discern honesty and common-sense in others who is a stranger to either, and that it is only by the painful acquirement of real knowledge, and the practise at home of real power, that voters will be able to get any compass-direction from within to help them in outside choices. If they follow the practice here suggested, it will suffice, in daylight hours and tests, to separate the worse from the better. If the difference is at any time too slight for discrimination, the less perilous the difficulty. Of one thing a voter may be sure. If he or she chooses one

to grab for a class, let them not wonder if the chosen grabs for himself. An army can fight only in the way it has been trained to fight; a prize-fighter only as he has been taught; in choosing, the chooser can use only the compasses to which he has accustomed himself, and only on the chart he knows.

Of all phantasies is not the most futile that which permits men who have never faced their duty or tried to do it, who know little of probity, personal purity, or high purpose, in their own lives, to imagine that they can bridle excess in others by Act of Parliament or borough bye-law, or that to them can be given any other license than that which will enable them to cut their own throats? In this matter of government we have to learn ourselves to master the medium with which we work, so that we may both recognise the better artists in it and follow ourselves the better art.

Periodically many write of, or talk about, the need for leaders, or for a Great Man, to rescue us from some disastrous bog into which we have unwittingly tumbled. Why not, much more sensibly and suitably, try the private practice which creates an atmosphere in which a leader can emerge, and bestows a vision which reveals Greatness at our elbow? Is it in leaders and in Greatness that we fail, or in the capacity to discern, to permit, and to follow either?

To get competent national and provincial administration, the country must somehow find a use for, and use generously, all the vital forces of each generation: its adaptability, its inventiveness, its most industrious workers, and all that is offered by knowledge, skill, capital, moral and spiritual goads and gifts, and the sense of duty in a

man. None can be safely dispensed with. Upon their harmonious corporate working depends growth. It is idle to assume that anything approaching equality of treatment, or sensible perspective in the matter of encouragement, yet obtains in regard to these elements. No country where an electorate really cared for knowledge, or understood how it has to be wrested from the Universe, could or would enthrone traditional ignorance as we enthrone it to-day, or remain content with an empirical practice which has long outgrown its aforetime usefulness. The statistics of national expenditure on brains, inventions, and character, are adequately and shamefully eloquent; the mental atmosphere of our political and social clubs, of many middle class homes, of our provincial towns, is as palpable as a London fog, and as dense. These betrayals are flaunted in days when means abound in torrential force, and are similarly spent; when, too, the painful ascent of man can be measured in the mapped milestones of his laborious acquirement of some new tool or some new method which an inventive and superior mind was the first to find: articulate speech, fire, the bow and arrow, pottery, domestic animals, the drum, iron, writing, gunpowder, mariner's compass, paper and the printing press, the Copernican theory, spinning and weaving, Newton, Faraday, Darwin, spectrum analysis, radium and wireless, the new physics, and the Modern Quest.

All the old things that are true, all the new and memorable things that await us, to be found to be older than historic time and greater than the dreams of the wisest among us—all come, and must, it seems, come, from this partnership of Man with the Universe

he inhabits.

Why should it not be an intelligent, a forceful, a self-reliant, and a victorious partnership? Why should not men have the courage and the capacity of their cause? To those who personally apprehend and share it, the partnership is already clear and convincing in aim and method, for whatever at any time a race is held to imagine, individual men and women know: they preserve the seed of the future flower and praise its fragrance before it has budded. To them its fragrance is a permitted promise. Patiently, as though their patience "had the key of Heaven," they go forward to the gardens where these flowers have always bloomed.

Oh, to be found among that sacred band,
Who from the dawn of soul first bowed the head
In deepest adoration; then, star-led,
Fought ignorance and sloth; in every land
Flanked Power's supreme betrayals; turned the hand
Of tyrant Might up-raised to crush; the bread
Of sunny hope broke for the child of dread;
And reared Heaven's halls upon Earth's molten sand.

To them the unsung splendours of the past
Belong. They were the Oracles of Good,
The Scouts of God, to instant service prone.

Whether Time's mischiefs did their strength outlast,
Or the world hearken, by His truth they stood:
Their joy to follow Light back to Light's throne.

J. J. R.: January 1, 1915.

1918.

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